MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY

THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XLIII

BALTIMORE

1948

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XLIII

ILLUSTRATIONS

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLIII MARCH, 1948 Number 1

MARYLAND TROOPS IN THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS

By Lucy Leigh Bowie

THE Battle of Harlem Heights was fought on Monday, September 16, 1776. It could well be described as a "brush with the enemy" for the number of troops engaged was not more than ten or eleven thousand men. Its importance lies in the fact that it was the first time in the American Revolution that the British "regulars" were routed on the field of battle by American troops.

To appreciate the full significance of this engagement we must turn back to August 27 and the Battle of Long Island. What was left of the defeated army had retired to their lines of defence. The gay and debonair Maryland "Macaronies" who covered their retreat, had died like heroes, hopelessly outnumbered. They had charged the British, then again, and again and still again, and each time they were pressed back. At the sixth charge the British faltered and the Marylanders could then retire to a protected position; but only one-third of their number were living. After this it rained for three days. There were no "let-ups"; it was a

steady rain with occasional down-pours. The troops were for the most part without shelter. They were wet to the skin and unable to cook their food. Their chief preoccupation was to obey the order to keep their arms and ammunition dry. This was followed by another order which seemed incredible. It was to prepare for an immediate attack upon the enemy, and the remnant of Smallwood's Marylanders and Magaw's Philadelphians were placed on guard.

At nightfall an indescribable murmur arose throughout the camp which indicated that the army was in motion but the direction of the sound was away from the enemy and toward the waterfront. When the order came it was for the troops to march quietly to the ferry and embark for New York. Upon the embarkation of the main army, those on guard and Alexander Hamilton's artillery, which also covered the evacuation, were to march briskly to the ferry. They were loaded into small boats and in the drizzling rain and fog were ferried across to New York City, the last boatload leaving at daybreak August 30, 1776. A breeze sprang up with the dawn and the fog [1] lifted. The last boat was just out of gun shot and those aboard could see the British soldiers climbing over the deserted breastworks.

There was a universal expression of disgust throughout the British army that the "Old Fox," meaning General Washington, had given them the slip. However, it was not considered of much importance as Howe and his ranking officers were convinced that the war was over except for "bagging" the rebel army which could be done at any time without much trouble. They thought the Americans had fled rather than evacuated and were so thoroughly beaten that never again would they dare to face the British army on the field of battle and that this campaign would end the war.[2] With this situation in mind the Howes considered that the time was ripe for a settlement of peace between England and her colonies. They determined to get in touch with the American leaders, the object being to arrange the conditions under which the peace terms could be decided upon. As is well known, Congress sent commissioners who met the Howes on Staten Island, September 11, 1776. The American committee soon found that

[1] Alexander Graydon, *Memoir of His Own Time.* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1846), p. 164-168.

[2] Hugh, Earl Percy, *Letters from Boston and New York, 1774-1776.* (Boston: 1902), p. 69.

Lord Howe had no power to negotiate an adjustment and could only propose the already known condition, that pardon would be granted in most cases if the colonies would return to their allegiance to the British Crown. The Americans stated in reply that the repeated petitions sent to King and Parliament had been treated with contempt and war had been declared upon the colonies. The colonies had now declared their independence and could not return to their former dependent state.

In parting General Howe expressed sorrow that an agreement could not be reached and said that it would give him pain to inflict distress upon a people for whom he had so much regard. Franklin, one of the commissioners, thanked him for his regard and added that Americans would endeavor to lessen his pain by taking good care of themselves. Under the conditions of the late American defeat this reply must have sounded to British ears as the very essence of braggadocio.

However, the Howes allowed their officers and men to believe that the delegates from the Continental Congress came "by permission" with offers of "compromise and submission" and that, whatever their offer, it was rejected.[3]

Four days later, on Sunday, September 15, the campaign against the American forces was resumed. General Howe had his troops drawn up at Newton Inlet as the best position for crossing to Manhattan Island. It was said that in the early morning sunlight the British army looked like a field of pink clover in full bloom. They were to land under cover of the guns of the warships anchored in the East River above what is now 23rd Street. General Howe would have preferred to land his army at Harlem and so bottle up the entire American army within the limits of what is now New York City, but the pilots refused to take the warships and transports up the East River and through the currents of Hell Gate. There was no choice but to land at Kip's Bay where the island narrowed to about a mile in width with a road crossing from east to west.[4]

Washington realized this choice, but did not know of the pilots' refusal to navigate Hell Gate, so he was obliged to prepare for the enemy at both points. Strong works were thrown up to prevent

[3] Frederick Mackenzie, *Diary*. (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1930), I, 44.
[4] Henry P. Johnston, *The Battle of Harlem Heights*. (New York: Macmillan, 1897), p. 33. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, I, 46.

the British from landing and these were manned by his most reliable regiments. At Harlem he stationed Shee's and Magaw's Philadelphians, Hand's Pennsylvania riflemen and Haslet's Delawareans. At Kip's Bay Washington stationed his most experienced and, in point of service, oldest troops, veterans of the Boston campaign of 1775. These were the Connecticut and Massachusetts brigades, eight regiments in all, under Parsons of Connecticut and Fellows of Massachusetts. Their orders were to defend the works, to engage the enemy upon landing and to hold him until the evacuation of the city by the American army had been accomplished. The fortifications at this point were very strong and were in a most advantageous situation overlooking the landing place. So long as they were held the British could make no advance.[5]

About eleven o'clock on the morning of Sept. 15 a cannonading from the warships began which, Washington recognized, was to cover the British landing at Kip's Bay. With all possible speed he left his headquarters and rode toward the landing place. He found that in spite of the severe bombardment the defence works had not been hit nor a single American soldier wounded; nevertheless, the troops were flying in every direction. Upon the appearance of a small party of the enemy, about sixty, these regiments ran away in the greatest haste and confusion without firing a single shot. The very demon of fear possessed them and nothing could stop their flight toward the highlands and safety.

On the south side of the road was a large cornfield with a stone fence. Washington dashed in among the flying crowds, shouting: "Take to the walls! Take to the cornfield!" He used his utmost exertion to stop their flight and bring them to order. He cocked his pistols and snapped them, drew his sword and threatened to run them through. He even, it was said, laid his cane (using his sword as a cane?) over many of the officers who showed their men the example of running. He found it impossible to face them about. On they fled, leaving their commander-in-chief within eighty yards of the enemy attended only by his aides-de-camp. Washington was in a blind and towering rage, "so vexed that he sought death rather than life." He threw his hat to the ground, and exclaiming, demanded of high heaven: "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" One of the aides caught

[5] Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, I, 67.

the General's bridle and turned his horse's head in the opposite direction away from the enemy.[6] The report of this episode went through the length and breadth of the army like wind through the tree tops. When the news reached Congress John Adams' heart almost broke with sorrow and mortification. If the New England troops had been cut to pieces, he lamented, and his father, brother and son had been among the slain, " it would not have given [him] so much grief as the shameful flight of the 15th instant." [7]

The enemy had expected the landing to be resisted. When they met with no opposition and found the defences deserted without apparent cause, the British were uneasy and feared a trap of some kind. When they learned that the reason was panic, the entire British army rocked with unholy laughter that, leaving their commander to his fate, eight regiments had been put to flight by the appearance of a few British soldiers without a single shot being fired. The tale reached London and as it could not be exaggerated it was embroidered.[8] Surely Admiral and General Howe and their officers had every reason to consider their judgment correct in believing that never again would the American army meet the British on the field of battle.

September 15, 1776, was a scorching hot Sunday. Howe had been in the saddle since before dawn. His army had landed on the island without a casualty. A short distance above the landing place was Murray Hill, the residence of Robert Murray, a Loyalist; it was only proper to assure this family that the Army would not molest their property, so Howe and his staff called. Only Mrs. Murray was at home. They arrived about noon and lingered into the afternoon and it is evident they stayed to dinner. No one had

[6] Smallwood to the Maryland Convention, Peter Force, *American Archives*, 5th ser., vol. 2, col. 1013; Tilghman to his father, *Memoir of Lieut. Col. Tench Tilghman* (Albany: Munsell, 1876), p. 137; Adjutant General Joseph Reed to his wife, in William B. Reed, *Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed* (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1847), I, 237-238; John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), VI, 58, 63, 57-59; Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Writings of George Washington* (New York: Putnam, 1889), IV, 406-409; Capt. William Beatty to his father, Col. William Beatty, Sept. 18, 1776, Md. Hist. Soc., Beatty MSS; Gen. Greene to Gov. Cooke of R. I., Force, *op. cit.*, 5th ser., vol. 2, col. 370-371; William Gordon, *History of the Rise . . . of the United States* (various editions). For additional details see Graydon, *op. cit.*, p. 74, and Maj. Gen. William Heath, *Memoirs* (Boston: Thomas and Andrews, 1798), p. 60.

[7] John Adams, *Works*. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1850-1856), I, 255; John Quincy and Charles F. Adams, *Life of John Adams* (Philadelphia: 1874).

[8] Ford, *Writings*, IV, 408. See quotation from *London Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1776.

a greater appreciation than General Howe of the amenities of a well appointed house or the society of a pretty woman. That General Howe lingered at Murray Hill was a "lucky break" for the American Army. In consequence the last British troops and artillery were not landed until around 5 P. M. and lines across the island to the Hudson River were not established until towards morning.[9] The hours thus gained enabled Washington to complete the evacuation of New York City.

A strong position in the highlands had been decided upon in advance and general headquarters were removed from Mott's Tavern to the Morris House (now known as the Jumel House) on the heights along the Harlem River. To prevent being flanked before he could reorganize his army "General Washington expressly sent and drew [Smallwood's] regiment from its brigade to march down to New York and to defend the baggage." [10] They were posted at McGowan's Pass, now 5th Ave. and 96th St., which commanded three roads, the Post Road to the north, a cross road to the Hudson River, and Harlem Lane which led to the Hollow Way where Washington was to locate his advance picket; his camp being a mile back in the hills and hidden by the woods and rocks.[11] All day and far into the night the hot, dusty roads were crowded with soldiers, cattle and chattels of all kinds on the way to join the army in the new position. Fresh troops were also coming down the island to join the army at the combat line. These were the Maryland Flying Camp which had been on Manhattan Island since September 15th. Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies (which were to furnish replacements for the heroes Smallwood had lost in the Battle of Long Island) and the 3rd Virginia Regiment arrived from Red Bank on Sunday morning. All of these troops were assigned to what would become the front line of the newly established American position. From the placement of these troops can be readily seen the confidence Washington had in the Maryland Line and in the Virginians also, but there seems not to have been a great many of them.[12] Both Marylanders and Virginians were clothed in hunting-shirts, which corresponded in color to the khaki of today. They were fresh, young troops recruited from plantations and

[9] Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, I, 50.
[10] Force, *op. cit.*, ser. 5, vol. 2, col. 1013.
[11] See historical maps of New York City in Johnston, *op. cit.*
[12] Graydon, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

small towns and could never have seen the soldiers of a regular army nor heard a shot fired in battle. Since the Maryland Convention of December 8, 1774, all men between the ages of 18 and 50 had been formed into companies and drilled twice a week with flint locks, with bayonets attached, in order that they should become proficient in the military art.[13] In this they had the advantage over other American soldiers who were not trained to use the bayonet until von Steuben reorganized the Continental Army in March, 1778.

There were four battalions of the Maryland Flying Camp under the command of Brigadier General Rezin Beall. Field equipment was difficult to procure and they were sent north by companies and even platoons as soon as they could be outfitted. At this date (Sept. 16, 1776) only 2,592 of the full quota of 3,405 men had arrived in the north. These were the 1st Battalion, commanded by Col. Charles Greenbury Griffith from Western Maryland, with 8 companies numbering 576 infantrymen, including riflemen, or sharpshooters, as they would now be called. The 2nd Battalion was from Baltimore and Harford Counties under Col. Josias Carvel Hall with six companies of infantry, numbering 436 men and one company of artillery. The 3rd Battalion was from the five Southern Maryland counties. It was commanded by Col. Thomas Ewing with 12 companies of infantry, numbering 864 men and 2 companies of artillery. The 4th Battalion was from the Eastern Shore and had ten companies of infantry with 720 men under Col. William Richardson, and Major Price's three Independent Companies, numbering about 216 men.[14] Col. George Weedon commanded the 3rd Virginia Regiment which had ten companies and seems to have numbered at this date (Sept. 15) about 726 infantry men and sharpshooting riflemen.[15]

To return to the evacuation of the American army from New York City on Sunday September 15, 1776, headquarters was gradually bringing order out of confusion, assigning camp sites to the troops as they reported in and discovering what units had been captured.

[13] [William T. R. Saffell] *Dulany's History of Maryland.* (Baltimore: Dulany, 1882), p. 143.

[14] James McSherry, *History of Maryland.* (Baltimore: Murphy, 1849), Appendix B, p. 382-384; *Archives of Maryland*, vols. XII and XVIII.

[15] *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, XX, 185. As of October, 1776. 611 rank and file, with 104 officers, are shown. Losses in September, 1776, could not have been less than five men as here allowed.

It was feared that General Putnam and most of his division had been taken prisoners. His headquarters had been at No. 1 Broadway. Upon hearing the heavy firing at Kip's Bay, Putnam immediately rode to the front but neglected to leave orders regarding the evacuation of his men (the regiments of Fellows' and Parsons' brigades as has been seen, had already evacuated themselves) when he remembered those that he had left in the city. He turned his horse and rode back only to find that every one was moving in the opposite direction. He would have been too late to save his men except that his two able aides-de-camp, Aaron Burr and Alexander Scammel, had set his army in motion without orders. They also brought off Silliman's brigade of artillery under Col. Knox. Burr knew the country well, and led the escape northward near the Hudson by the Bloomingdale Road. Reaching headquarters just after dark, they were welcomed with great rejoicing for they had been given up for lost.[16]

Col. Knox had elected to remain in New York City.[17] That evening the blistering heat of the day was followed by a thunder storm which changed to a cold rain before clearing.[18] In the darkness and rain Knox secured a row boat and slipped past the British warships in the East River and reached headquarters around midnight. Since it was considered certain that he had been captured, his appearance was greeted with great acclaim and he was embraced by General Washington. Thus ended one of the darkest days in the history of the American Army.

Dawn of September 16th found headquarters in active operation. After snatching a few hours' sleep Washington was drafting his report of the preceding day for Congress. The Adjutant General, Col. Reed, was writing to his wife. As he sealed the letter a report came in that the enemy[19] was advancing in three

[16] See biographies of General Israel Putnam; General Henry Knox or Aaron Burr.

[17] Col. Henry Knox, although in command of the artillery branch of the Continental Army, was not made a brigadier general until December, 1776.

[18] Correspondence of Capt. William Beatty in Maryland Historical Society's library.

[19] From this point throughout the description of the battle references will be made to the "Authorities" that comprise the second half of *The Battle of Harlem Heights* by Johnston. These authorities were collected at the time of the centennial anniversary 1876, for the most part by the librarian of the New York Historical Society and founder and editor of the American *Magazine of History*, John Austin Stevens. They were added to by the succeeding librarian, William Kelby. Johnston also added to this data, notably a letter dated September 18, 1776, written by Capt. Gustavus Brown Wallace, printed in the text on page 119, and possibly the Recollections of Judge Oliver Burnham on page 178. Various monographs and

columns. So many false reports had been received that Col. Reed was despatched to ascertain the truth and to locate Lt. Col. Knowlton of the Rangers who with 150 New England volunteers had been ordered to advance at dawn upon the enemy's lines to feel out their position and to capture their advance guard.[20]

Lt. Col. Thomas Knowlton is described by Washington Irving as General Putnam's favorite officer. Usually this means a favorite with the writer. However, in this case, that designation appears to be correct, as time after time Putnam selected Knowlton for special assignments which gained him the reputation throughout the army of a competent and reliable officer. He keenly felt the disgrace that the conduct of Fellows' and Parsons' brigades had brought upon Putnam's division and he had begged for the chance to retrieve their reputation. With his 150 volunteers from New England he moved out on Monday morning before day. At daybreak, scouting near the Hudson River, he encountered a British force about 300 strong who immediately formed to give battle. Knowlton then ordered his men to fire. " After eight rounds a piece had been fired by the Americans and seeing the British were getting their flank guard around them, Knowlton ordered a retreat." This was conducted with great rapidity, the enemy being but five minutes behind them. They lost ten men in action but retreated the 2½ miles to the American outposts without further loss.[21]

At headquarters Washington finished his report to Congress and handed it to his secretary, Col. Harrison, to have a fair copy made for his signature. Then hearing firing in the distance and as no report had come in from Col. Reed, Washington mounted his horse and with his aides rode down to the front lines.[22]

These lines extended along the northern heights that overlooked and skirted a wide declivity called the Hollow Way. It was about

books have been published about this battle by John Jay in 1876, Erastus C. Benedict, 1879 and Martha J. Lambe, 1880. It may be noticed that these publications have not been used in this article. The authors were all residents of New York City whose attention was chiefly engaged in establishing the location of the battlefield. New York had no troops in the Battle.

[20] Johnston, " Authorities ": Correspondence of Adj. Gen. Joseph Reed, Sept. 22, 1776 (see also Reed, *op. cit.*, according to date); Correspondence attributed to Capt. Stephen Brown, Johnston, p. 155.

[21] Johnston, p. 155: Correspondence attributed to Captain Stephen Brown of Knowlton's Rangers.

[22] See Col. Harrison's note to Washington's Report to the President of Congress, Sept. 16, 1776. Ford, *Writings*, under date.

half a mile wide and was traversed by a lane or roadway leading from the Kingsbridge road on the East River side of the island to a landing at Matje Davits Vly on the Hudson River side.[23] It was nearly nine o'clock when Knowlton's Rangers reached the safety of the American lines and Reed and Knowlton joined Washington and his group of officers.[24]

The British, estimated at about 300 men,[25] pressed hard upon the retreating Americans. These were in reality the van guard and the main body numbering ten times as many were not far in the rear, concealed by the woods. They came on in high spirits,[26] getting all the fun they could from the chase, confident that the Americans would never make a stand against them.[27] They halted on the southern heights overlooking the Hollow Way, still concealed by the trees and bushes. Seeing Washington and his staff in full view on the opposite heights, a small group of them came out into the open in great glee, and with a gesture of derision sounded upon their " bugle horns " the view hello, as if in a fox hunt. Col. Reed reports that this was done in a most insulting manner and said that he never felt such a sensation before. " It seemed to crown our disgrace " he added.[28] What were Washington's sensations? What did the old fox hunter feel when he found himself regarded as the quarry? His spleen over his encounter with the fleeing soldiers could not have yet subsided; writing his report to Congress must have fanned its embers into flame; and now came this insulting gesture of derision and contempt. But we have no word or intimation of Washington's emotional reaction. We only know he decided to capture this party, small as it was reported to be. In his own words he " formed the design of cutting off such of them as had or might advance to the extremity of the woods " [29] and his plan was to

[23] See historical maps of New York City in Johnston, *op. cit.*

[24] Johnston, p. 134 and 136: Correspondence of Joseph Reed, Sept. 17, 1776 and Sept. 22, 1776. Reed, *op. cit.*

[25] Johnston, p. 130: Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776, p. 156; Correspondence from Headquarters, Sept. 17, 1776. See also Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. 2, Ch. 35.

[26] Johnston, p. 173: Correspondence of Lt. Joseph Hodgkins, Sept. ye 30, 1776.

[27] Johnston, p. 177: Correspondence of Col. Tench Tilghman. See also his *Memoir*, p. 139.

[28] Johnston, p. 135: Correspondence of Adj. General Joseph Reed, Sept. 17, 1776. See also Reed, *Life and Correspondence*, under date.

[29] Johnston, p. 133: Washington to the New York Convention, Sept. 23, 1776. See also Fitzpatrick or Ford, *Writings*, under date.

attack them in the rear and cut off their retreat.[30] By eleven o'clock Washington had decided upon his strategy, instructed his officers, and prepared his troops for battle. One party was ordered to march toward the enemy as if to attack in front but not to deliver a real blow until the other party was fairly in the rear and cutting off their retreat.[31] The troops to be used in this engagement were the Maryland Flying Camp and Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies, the 3rd Virginia under Col. Weedon, Col. Knowlton's (New England Volunteer) rangers, Nixon's New England brigade, and a Massachusetts regiment under Col. Sargent. Generals Thomas Mifflin of Pennsylvania and George Clinton of New York participated in the engagement as observers with General Putnam and General Greene in command of the action.[32]

The opposing forces were about half a mile apart on hills with the Hollow Way between. 150 volunteers from Hitchcock's Rhode Islanders under Lt. Col. Crary comprised the detachment ordered to show themselves and keep up enough fire to hold the enemy's attention and keep him amused. On the right but out of sight of the enemy was the 3rd Virginia [33] and Price's Maryland companies. On the left, also concealed from the enemy, was Col. Ewing's Southern Maryland Flying Camp [34] and at the rear was the main body of Hitchcock's Rhode Island regiment. These concealed parties were ordered to attack only when the noise of battle indicated that the troops sent to attack the British rear had reached their objective and begun action.

The force to attack the rear was in command of Col. Knowlton (still anxious to retrieve the reputation of the New England troops) with three companies of riflemen from the 3rd Virginia under Major Leitch. The riflemen were accompanied by the Adjutant General, Col. Joseph Reed.[35] They were well on their

[30] Johnston, p. 177: Correspondence of Lt. Col. Tench Tilghman. See also *Memoir*, p. 139.

[31] Johnston, p. 177: Tilghman, Sept. 19, 1776. See also *Memoir*, p. 138.

[32] Johnston, p. 164: Extract from Journal kept by Dr. Ezra Stiles in possession of Yale Univ., under date of Sept. 27, 1776.

[33] Johnston, p. 153: Correspondence of Capt. John Gooch; p. 119: Correspondence of Capt. Augustus Brown Wallace of the 3rd Virginia.

[34] Deposition of Thomas Marshall of Southern Md. Flying Camp; Pension Records: Revolutionary War Section—U. S. Pension Bureau: Marshall, Thomas; Maryland, 26346-S8992.

[35] Johnston, p. 134: Correspondence of Col. Joseph Reed, Sept. 17, 1776; p. 130. Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776; p. 156: Letter to Gentleman in

way and had reached the flank undiscovered, being separated from the enemy by a rocky ridge covered with trees and undergrowth; however, while out of sight of the British they were in plain sight of Col. Crary's men who were ordered to hold the attention of the enemy until the attack upon their rear was fairly launched.[36] At this point and place General Putnam had ridden up to give his final orders to Col. Knowlton. These were that in the attack upon the enemy's rear he was to take the left flank.[37] It is evident from subsequent events and statements that Col. Knowlton, Col. Reed and Major Leitch were grouped together to receive General Putnam's instruction and while thus engaged their attention was attracted by an "unhappy movement [that] was made by a Regiment of ours which had orders to amuse them [the enemy] while those I was with expected to take them in the rear."[38] The "unhappy movement" was that Col. Crary's men, who were to make a feint, advanced toward the enemy, showed themselves and fired, as was intended, but at too great a distance to do any harm. The enemy, upon seeing them, promptly accepted battle, ran down the hill, took possession of some fences and bushes and returned their fire but also at too great a distance to do much execution. To Col. Crary's men "it was as terrible a fire as [they] ever heard" and about six minutes later they were seen "running like the de—l."[39]

It should not be forgotten that the battlefield was only about half a mile wide and that Putnam, Reed, Knowlton and Leitch were together at the time Crary's men were seen fleeing up the hill. Immediately an order was given to attack the enemy's flank at once, Putnam put spurs to his horse and rode diagonally across the field to intercept the fleeing soldiers. As Thomas Marshall tells it,[40] "They were rallied and brought back by an officer on a black horse that was called General Putnam."

Annapolis. It is impossible to decide the exact time that Major Mantz and his three companies of Md. riflemen may have entered the combat at this point. There is no ordered account of the battle and any description must be reconstructed from scraps of private correspondence, checking one loose statement against another.

[36] Johnston, opp. p. 116: Dr. Stiles' sketch of the Harlem action.

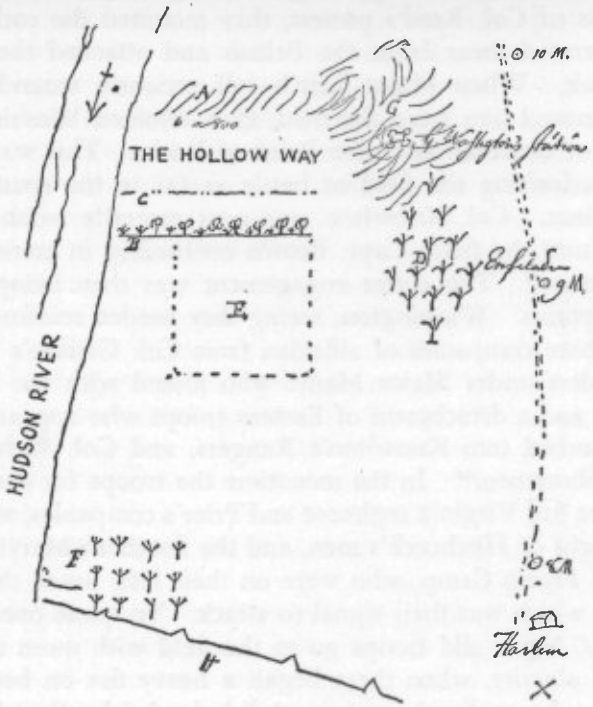
[37] Johnston, p. 178: Recollections of Judge Burnham.

[38] Johnston, p. 135, 137: Correspondence of Adj. Gen. Reed, dated Sept. 17 and Sept. 22, 1776.

[39] Johnston, p. 177. Correspondence of Col Tilghman; p. 153: Correspondence of Capt. John Gooch of Hitchcock's Regiment of Rhode Islanders; p. 119: correspondence of Capt. Gustavus Brown Wallace of Weedon's 3rd Virginia.

[40] Pension Records, already cited.

The order for an immediate attack upon the British flank was in direct contradiction to the orders of the Commander-in-Chief which were that no attack was to be made until the enemy's rear had been reached.[41] No one has ever named the officer who changed Washington's order from an attack on the rear to an



Contemporary Sketch of the Battle Ground, from the *Battle of Harlem Plains: Oration* . . . 1876, by John Jay, published by the New York Historical Society. By courtesy of that Society. The words "Hudson River" and "The Hollow Way" have been inserted for this reproduction. A, Where the action began. B, Fence behind which the enemy rallied at first. C, Fence from which Americans attacked. D, Position of Virginia and Maryland riflemen who enfiladed the enemy. E, Buckwheat field. F, Orchard where the English attempted unsuccessfully to rally. G, Where Washington overlooked the battle. The action occurred in the area between the present 110th and 135th Streets.

immediate attack on the flank. Washington mentions the order as being given by an "inferior officer" meaning, of course, inferior to himself, the Commander-in-Chief. It is the considered opinion of this writer that the order was given by General Putnam.

Col. Knowlton was too experienced an officer to take orders

[41] Johnston, p. 178; Burnham, p. 135, 173; Reed, Washington's General Orders, Sept. 17, 1776, p. 162; see also Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*.

from any except a commanding officer and General Putnam was his, Knowlton's, commanding officer. Major Leitch was under Col. Knowlton's command; otherwise Leitch would never have ignored the protests and opposition of an officer of Col. Reed's rank and authority. So, ignoring Washington's direct command, regardless of Col. Reed's protest, they mounted the rocky ridge that separated them from the British and attacked them upon their flank. When Major Leitch fell seriously wounded, Col. Reed removed him from the field, then rejoined Washington at his post of observation at the Point of Rocks. This was a high place overlooking the field of battle as far to the south as the British lines. Col. Knowlton was next mortally wounded and carried from the field, Capt. Brown continuing in command of the Rangers.[42] The entire engagement was then being fought under captains. Washington, seeing they needed reinforcements, sent in three companies of riflemen from Col. Griffith's Western Marylanders under Major Mantz who joined with the Virginia riflemen, and a detachment of Eastern troops who appear to have been absorbed into Knowlton's Rangers, and Col. Richardson's Eastern Shoremen.[43] In the meantime the troops for the frontal attack, the 3rd Virginia regiment and Price's companies, who were on the right of Hitchcock's men, and the Southern Maryland battalion of Flying Camp, who were on their left, heard the sound of battle which was their signal to attack. To quote one of their number, " Never did troops go to the field with more cheerfulness and alacrity, when there began a heavy fire on both sides. . . . Our brave Southern troops dislodged [the British] from their posts " [44] and continued to dislodge them from the fences and bushes and pushed them up the hill. On reaching the flanking position, the left wing of the American troops under Col. Ewing merged with the right wing into one front, and launched a spirited attack,[45] having assumed the following formation: On the extreme left, the Rangers and the New England detachment

[42] Johnston, p. 155: Correspondence of Capt. Stephen Brown of Knowlton's Rangers.

[43] Johnston, p. 139: Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776; p. 132-136, Adj. Gen. Reed's Correspondence, p. 175-177: Correspondence of Col. Tilghman.

[44] Johnston, p. 156: Letter to a Gentleman in Annapolis.

[45] Johnston, p. 137: Correspondence of Adj. Gen. Reed, p. 120: Correspondence of Capt. Gustavus Wallace.

from Sargent's Massachusetts regiment, then the riflemen from the 3rd Virginia and the 1st Maryland Flying Camp; then Richardson's Eastern Shoremen and Ewing's Southern Marylanders.[46]

At the first headlong attack by these combined units, the enemy retreated about 200 paces. This brought them to the edge of a woods where they again found cover behind fences and bushes. Our men attacked them again and brought a

couple of Field Pieces to bear upon them which fairly put them to flight with two Discharges only. The Second Time our People pursued them closely to the top of a hill about 400 paces distant where they received a very Considerable Reinforcement and made their Second Stand.[47]

This action drove the British south through the woods and into a buckwheat field. Until this time the British force consisted of two battalions of light infantry, the 42nd Highlanders, and three companies of Hessian Yagers commanded by Brigadier General Leslie,[48] but now Col. von Donop as well as the British regiment next in line were ordered to move up to their support, and " two three-Pounders, Brass, with Lt. Wallace, Royal Artillery " were brought into action; 60 rounds of ammunition were fired from each before they were captured by Knowlton's Rangers [49] on the eastern edge of the buckwheat field. The Americans also received reinforcements at this point and closely pursued the British forces who were pushed from the woods into the buckwheat field. The fighting there was very sharp and lasted about two hours. The Marylanders attacked with the bayonet. These troops, though

[46] No exact data can be given for this arrangement of the American troops. It is the final opinion after consulting a mass of material upon this subject and represents many hours of work. It is believed that any student of this subject will be in agreement with this distribution of the troops, if he checks the references in this article. It seems probable that the Baltimore and Harford County Flying Camp under Col. Josias Carvil Hall had not been sent to New York as yet, but were still at Red Bank with General Mercer or at Fort Lee, New Jersey, enroute to New York.

[47] Johnston, p. 143-4: Correspondence of Gen. George Clinton, Sept. 21, 1776. The artillery here mentioned undoubtedly were the two companies of cannoneers from Annapolis associated with Ewing's Southern Marylanders, as the commander of the Continental Artillery, Col. Knox, makes no mention in correspondence of this date of having had any part in this action.

[48] Johnston, p. 166: Gordon's *History of the American War.*

[49] Johnston, p. 225: Hessian Account of the Action, p. 223; Journal of Capt. John Montresor, Engineer, and aide to Howe. The guns were at McGowan's Pass. No horses being near, they were hauled by hand and brought into action against the Americans in the buckwheat field, p. 179; Recollections of Judge Oliver Burnham of Knowlton's Rangers.

young and green, charged with great bravery, they " gave two fires " and rushed right forward which drove the enemy first from the woods to the buckwheat field and then from the buckwheat field into an orchard, then across a hollow and up another hill near their own lines.

The right wing of the American front consisted of the 3rd Virginia under Col. Weedon, Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies and Nixon's New England Brigade. Col. Weedon was ordered out at the beginning of the engagement to maintain a particular post in front. Capt. Montresor notes in his *Journal* " the Enemy [the Americans] attempted to cut off our left, getting around between our left and Hudson's River." This move must have been spear-headed by Weedon's Virginians with Major Price's three Independent Maryland Companies, replacing the three companies of riflemen that were detached and sent to reinforce Knowland's Rangers. Weedon's position continued on the extreme right. Their operations carried them into the open ground between the buckwheat field and the river and brought them under the guns of the British ships where " the grape shot flew thick eno' for once." [50]

After the troops under Lt. Col. Crary were rallied, Nixon's brigade of 900 men, which included Little's Massachusetts Regiment as well as Hitchcock's Rhode Islanders, were ordered out. They stood the enemy's fire well, advancing across the Hollow Way

> marching up in good order through their fire till within 70 yards, when we engaged them in that situation, we engaged them for one hour and eight minutes, when the enemy broke and ran, we pursued them to the next heights, when we were ordered to retreat. Our loss does not exceed in killed and wounded twenty-five men, the loss of the Enemy was considerable but cannot be ascertained.[51]

The question arises, why were these troops withdrawn from combat at the very time that this battle was at the hottest as experienced by the New England Rangers, and the Marylanders and Virginians. One of the officers from Little's Massachusetts Regiment wrote " our People . . . fote them . . . till they got under Cover of their ships, which was in North River, then our

[50] Johnston's, p. 223: Journal of Capt. Montresor. See also Journal of Dr. Ezra Stiles, Sept. 27, 1776; Johnston, p. 64.
[51] Johnston, p. 153: Capt. Gooch's letter to Fayerweather.

People Left them." [52] An examination of historical maps indicate that when they were withdrawn from combat they had reached the level ground on the Hudson River near what is now Grant's Tomb.

Weedon was then reinforced by a Connecticut Regiment commanded by Col. Douglas—this was one of those which had run the day before—and by another regiment, not identified, which had also taken part in the fiasco of the day before. One of these soldiers writes of the action on September 16th:

> Our regiment was now ordered into the field, and we arrived on the ground just as the retreating army were entering a thick wood, a circumstance as disagreeable to them as it was agreeable to us. . . . We soon came into action with them. The troops engaged being reinforced by our regiment kept them still retreating, until they found shelter under the cannon of some of their shipping, lying in the North River. We remained on the battle ground till nearly sun-set, expecting the enemy to attack us again, but they showed no such inclination that day.[53]

The Reverend David Griffith, rector of Christ Church, Alexandria, who was surgeon and chaplain of the 3rd Virginia Regiment,[54] had this to say of the reinforcements: "I must mention that the two Yankee Regiments who ran on Sunday fought tollerably well on Monday and in some measure retrieved their reputation."

From the lay of the land the Marylanders and Virginians would have converged after leaving the buckwheat field and together pushed the enemy through the orchard toward their own lines. It was then about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.[55]

Washington had remained at his post at the Point of Rocks overlooking the battlefield. To get a more extended view he placed a man with a field glass in a tree top. This man reported a large body of British soldiers advancing at double quick. It developed that these were Hessians under Col. von Donop as

[52] Johnston, p. 174: Letter of Lt. Joseph Hodgkins of Little's Mass. Regt.

[53] Johnston, p. 181: Account by James S. Martin, soldier in Col. Douglas' Conn. Regt.

[54] Johnston, p. 171-172: Letter of the Rev. David Griffith incorrectly listed as Col. David Griffith of Maryland. Several writers have confused Chaplain Griffith with Col. Charles Greenbury Griffith, commander of the 1st Battalion, Maryland Flying Camp.

[55] Johnston, p. 139-145: Report and correspondence of General George Clinton of New York, observer in Battle of Harlem Heights; p. 177: Col. Tench Tilghman.

well as the British Regiment next in line to him, which had received orders to move up to the support of Gen. Leslie's hard pressed troops.[56] Upon receiving this report Washington, wishing to avoid a general engagement, sent his aides into the field to recall his troops. It may not have been easy to do as they were flushed with victory and had the enemy retreating before them. " The pursuit of a flying Enemy was so new a scene that it was with Difficulty our men could be brought to retreat—" but " they gave a hurra and left the Field in good Order." [57]

General Leslie's reinforcement arrived just in time to save his army. Col. von Donop reported that " But for my Yagers, two Regiments of Highlanders would all perhaps have been captured." According to Capt. George Harris, they " were trotted about three miles (without a halt to draw breath)." Upon their arrival it was found that " no Yager had any ammunition left, and all the Highlanders had fired their last shot." [58]

According to General George Clinton's observation, " The action, in the whole lasted about four hours," from 11 a. m. to 3 p. m. The Rev. Mr. Griffith wrote that " the Maryland and Virginia troops were principally engaged and have received the General's thanks."

Major Nicholas Fish of New York states that " Our brave and heroic Marylanders, Virginians, &c. made a Noble and resolute stand against the Efforts of the Enemy."

Said one writer to " a Gentleman in Annapolis ": " General Washington gave great applause to our Maryland troops for their gallant behavior."

Capt. Gustavus Wallace Brown wrote that the troops that were engaged " got Genl. Washington's thanks yesterday [Sept. 17th] in publick orders—the Virginia Regiment has got great honours in this action."

Col. Tench Tilghman said: " The prisoners we took, told us, they expected our men would have run away as they did the day before, but that they were never more surprised than to see us

[56] Johnston, p. 225: Hessian account of the action. The Hessian reinforcement included Chasseurs, Grenadiers and Yagers.

[57] Johnston, p. 131: Washington's Report to Congress, Sept. 18, 1776; p. 135: Adj. Gen. Reed's letter to his wife, Sept. 17, 1776; p. 177: Col. Tench Tilghman's correspondence, Sept. 19, 1776.

[58] Johnston, p. 255: Hessian Account of the Action; p. 207: letter of Capt. George Harris; p. 226-227: Report of Major C. L. Baurmeister.

advancing to attack them. The Virginia and Maryland troops bear the Palm." [59]

Another writes: "I have the pleasure to inform you our men behaved with bravery and intrepidity, putting the enemy to flight when in open ground and forcing them from posts they had seized two or three times."

In Washington's General Orders for September 16, 1776, the parole was "Bell" and the countersign was "Maryland." This was in honor of the Flying Camp, General Beall (pronounced Bell) being its commander. The formation of the outpost for that night is also interesting. The line extended from the North (Hudson) River to the road leading from New York to Kingsbridge along the heights commanding the Hollow Way. General Clinton's New York troops were to form next to the North River and extend to the left. "General Scott's Brigade [New York militia] were next to General Clinton's. Lt. Col. Sayer of Col. Griffith's Regiment, with the three companies intended for a reinforcement today, to form upon the left of Scott's Brigade." In this manner Washington gave public explanation of the reason why these companies were withheld from the action which gave their Regiment such high honors. This disposition placed them at the elbow of the picket line where three roads met and formed a direct route from the British general headquarters in New York to General Washington's headquarters on the Heights. They occupied a position of great responsibility.[60]

General MacDougall's Pennsylvanians held the picket line from the Morris House (Washington's headquarters) down to the Flying Camp line. Col. Weedon's Virginians and Major Price's Maryland companies, Gen. Nixon's and Col. Sergeant's units (the New England troops who had that day fought with them and proved their mettle) were "to retire to their quarters and refresh themselves, but to hold themselves in readiness to turn out at a minute's warning."

The Rangers had had a long and gruelling day which began before dawn and only ended when the troops were recalled from

[59] For these commendatory remarks, see Johnston, p. 120, 141, 152, 157, 172, 177.

[60] This may have been the occasion that gave rise to the tradition told by our grandmothers and handed down by their grandmothers "that whenever Washington was in a tight spot he always said 'place the Marylanders on guard tonight.'"

action.[61] Their long marches, two engagements with the enemy and the loss of a beloved leader certainly justified the complete rest that they were given, while the intrepid action of the Maryland Flying Camp which culminated in the two hours' strenuous hand-to-hand encounter with bayonets [62] in the buckwheat field were also allowed complete rest.

In the General Orders of the next day, September 17, the parole was " Leitch " and the Countersign " Virginia." General Washington heartily thanked the troops commanded by Major Leitch who first advanced on the enemy and the others who so resolutely supported them. At the same time he gave precise orders as to what officers had the authority to deliver orders and countermanders from the commander-in-chief. He spoke highly of Col. Knowlton as an " honour to any country " and ordered Captain Stephen Brown to take command of Knowlton's Rangers.

Praise of the bravery of the southern troops swept through the country at the same high rate of speed as did condemnation of those who retreated with such velocity on Sunday. It even crossed to England.[63] In Congress this news might have been expected to cause satisfaction and renewed hope for the cause in which all were so seriously involved. Such was not the reaction in all cases, however. It changed John Adams' feelings from a " heart almost broken with sorrow and mortification " because of the defeat on Sunday to one filled with hot anger at the events of Monday. In a letter to Col. Henry Knox, commander of the Continental artillery, he asks:

> Pray tell me Col. Knox, does every man to the southwest of the Hudson River behave like a hero, and every one to the northeast of it like a poltroon, or not? The rumours, reports and letters which come here upon occasion represent the New England troops as cowards running away perpetually, and the southern troops as standing bravely. I wish I could know whether it is true. I want to know for the government of my own conduct; because, if the New England men are a pack of cowards, I would resign my place in Congress where I should not choose to represent poltroons, and remove to some southern colony, where I could enjoy the society of heros.[64]

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[61] Johnson, p. 179: Recollections of Judge Burnham.

[62] *Letters* of Earl Percy, p. 71. In this encounter the Maryland troops used the manoeuver that Lord Percy stated they were unacquainted with. It was also used on Long Isalnd, but Percy was at the opposite end of the line of battle on that occasion.

[63] Ford, *Writings*, IV, 408. See quotation from *London Chronicle*, Nov. 9, 1776.

[64] Works of John Adams, I, 256; J. Q. Adams, *op. cit.*

The widespread talk and sectional rivalry was exceedingly objectionable to Washington. He needed the support of all the colonies in order to win the war and he sought to minimize rather than exaggerate local differences. Not only that but, to quote Tench Tilghman, he (Washington) was "the honestest man that I believe ever Adorned human Nature." He hated that injustice should be done to any peoples. This is shown in the following letter to John Custis: [65]

It is painful to me to hear such illiberal reflections upon Eastern troops as you say prevails in Virginia. I always have, and always shall say that I do not believe that any states produce better men or persons capable of making better soldiers. . . . Equal injustice is done them, in depriving them of merit in other respects; for no people fly to arms readier than they do, or come better equipped, or with more regularity into the field than they.

Washington had always been in close touch with Maryland and was the personal friend of many Marylanders. Before the Revolution he is known to have visited Annapolis eleven times in one year. Generals Greene and von Steuben, visiting Maryland en route to the Southern theatre of War, expressed surprise at finding how universal Washington's popularity was in this State. It also should be remembered that his two most confidential aides were Marylanders.[66] His close connection with the State continued after the war and always, whenever possible, his old soldiers flocked to meet him. In July, 1791, he visited Frederick and said a few words to his friends before he left:

. . . I cannot leave you, fellow-citizens, without thanking you again and again for your kind greeting; for the true and devoted friendship you have shown me. When in the darkest hours of the Revolution, of doubt and gloom, the succor and support I received from the people of Frederick County always cheered me. It always awoke a responsive echo in my breast. I feel the emotion of gratitude beating in my heart,—my heart is too full to say more. God bless you all.[67]

This address happened to be delivered in Frederick but the sentiment would have been equally true in any other part of Maryland.

[65] Johnston, p. 164: Journal of Dr. Ezra Stiles, Oct. 9, 1776.
[66] *Memoir of Tilghman*, p. 42-43.
[67] J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland*, I, 553. (Philadelphia: Everts, 1882.)

THE MARYLAND CROSS DWELLING[1]

By Henry Chandlee Forman

Illustrated by the author

The medieval cruciform house was as popular in Maryland as in Virginia. Like those of the Old Dominion, the Maryland examples were merely buildings of hall-and-parlor type, or of central-passage category, with a porch added to the front and a stair tower, or other kind of wing, at the rear. It is unfortunate that three seventeenth-century examples, of the four known in the Free State, have been destroyed.[2]

The Brick State House of 1676 in St. Mary's City (Fig. 1), now reconstructed as a Tercentenary memorial, was probably the most imposing. Until its destruction in 1829, it stood, a venerable pile, overlooking the St. Mary's River. In appearance it was a full two storeys all around, with a porch and a porch chamber on the front, and a stair tower at the back. The spacious vestibule on the river bluff had three brick arches, like those at Malvern Hill in Virginia, and the stair tower possessed a " private door to open into the Garden." The wrought-iron casements had rectangular panes, and there were mullions and transom bars. Inside, the great summer beams were sixteen-by-twelves. The roof carried the medieval pantile, and the front and rear wings appear to have had " pyramids " or hips.[3]

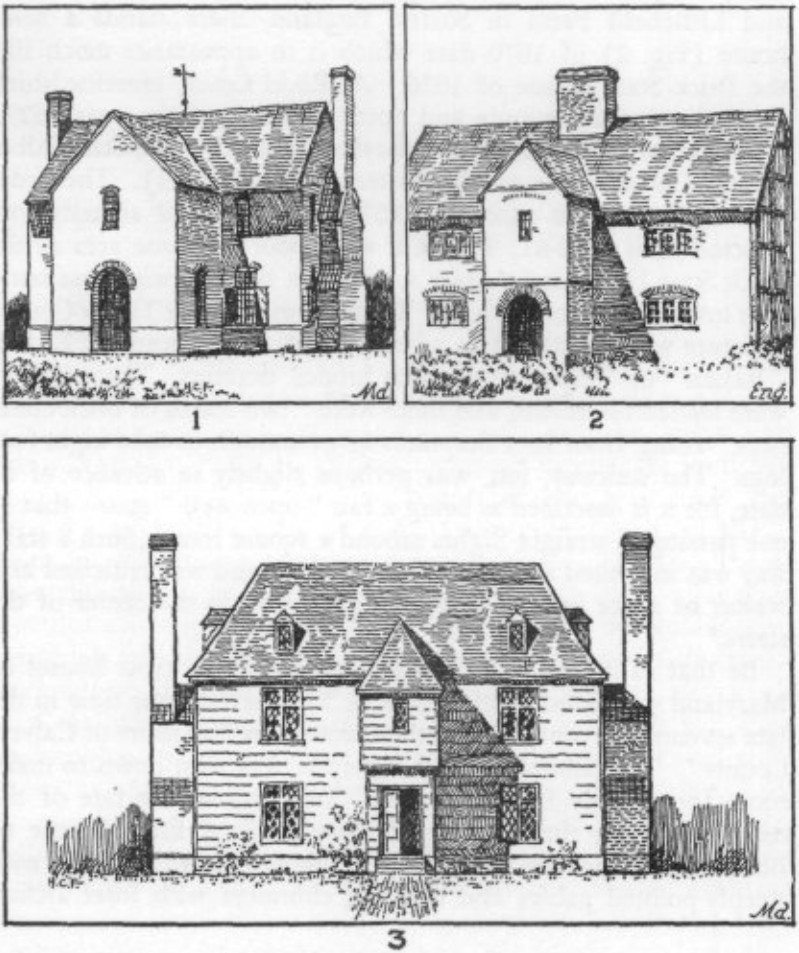
In the landscape of Old England the porch and porch chamber were common features. One finds them, for instance, at Compton Wynyates, Warwickshire,[4] built in 1520, and at Little Warley

[1] A chapter from the forthcoming book, *The Architecture of the Old South*, scheduled to be published in the autumn of 1948 by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[2] The fourth seventeenth-century cross house is the well known old Treasury at Annapolis, built about 1698 and standing today.

[3] H. C. Forman, *Jamestown and St. Mary's* (Baltimore, 1938) 285. *Archives of Maryland*, II, 404-406. A pantile is an S-shaped clay tile about 13½ inches long.

[4] H. A. Tipping, *English Homes of the Early Renaissance*, period II, vol. 1 (London, 1924) p. 119.



MEDIEVAL CROSS HOUSES IN MARYLAND AND ENGLAND

1. The Brick State House of 1676, St. Mary's City, Maryland. Reconstructed in 1934. Compare with Fig. 2.
2. Brick house between Frosbury and Littlefield Farm, Surrey, England, 1670. After W. G. Davie, *Old Cottages and Farmhouses in Surrey* (London: Batsford, 1908).
3. The Court House, Talbot County, Maryland, 1680. A cross house with a "court hall" at the rear. Reconstruction drawing by author from specifications in the *Archives of Maryland.*

Hall, Essex, of the same vintage. On the road between Frosbury and Littlefield Farm in Surrey, England, there stands a brick house (Fig. 2) of 1670 date which is in appearance much like the Brick State House of 1676. At Rodd Court, Herefordshire, is another brick vestibule and porch chamber of the year 1629.[5]

A second cross house in Maryland was the wooden Talbot County Court House on the Eastern Shore (Fig. 3). The order for its erection was enacted in 1679, but it was not actually constructed until 1680-81. In size it was about the same area as the Brick State House at St. Mary's; however, the rear wing was not a stair tower, but a court " hall." In some respects the Talbot County structure was stylistically in advance of its time, because it had an " Italian " or " hip't " roof, with hipped dormers. The windows were leaded casements, and there were " two stacks of brick chimneys," rising from four fireplaces large enough to take eight-foot logs. The stairway, too, was perhaps slightly in advance of its date, for it is described as being a fair " open well " stair—that is, one passing in straight flights around a square room. Such a stairway was instituted in England about 1600, and was criticized as a waster of space because it left an open well in the center of the stairs.[6]

Be that as it may, the most interesting of the cross houses of Maryland was Bond Castle (Figs. 4, 5), erected some time in the late seventeenth century upon the Chesapeake Bay shore of Calvert County.[7] The habitation, *mal à propos*, was torn down to make room for an ugly farm structure. Such became the fate of the most significant rural edifice of Maryland. A first glimpse of Bond Castle from the Bay showed a timber-framed dwelling with steeply-pointed gables and two tall chimneys with inset arches.

[5] *Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Constructions of England . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London, 1931-34), III, pl. 164.

[6] H. Braun, *The Story of the English House* (London, 1940), p. 93.

[7] Fig. 4 is reproduced on the cover of this issue. Reconstruction drawing by the author of the only known example in the United States of a cross house having a front vestibule with turned spindles.

The author was told that a chimney brick had a date, 1735, upon it. Such figures do not necessarily mean the date of erection of the original house. See photographs of Bond Castle, and drawing, in H. C. Forman, *Early Manor and Plantation Houses of Maryland* (Easton, Md., 1934), pp. 57, 62, 63; and A. L. Sioussat, *Old Manors of the Colony of Maryland*, 2nd series (Baltimore, 1913); and F. Kimball, *The Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York, 1927).

The main part of the house was only storey-and-loft, but the front and rear porches were two full storeys high. At each gable of the central portion, low wings had been added at a later time to balance exactly the composition: one a kitchen, the other a bedroom. The external appearance of the old pile was particularly striking because of the overhangs or "jetties" of the front porch chamber, the rear porch chamber, and the peaked gables above them. In truth, at Bond Castle was the only known example of an overhang among the cross houses of the Old South.

The jetty, or overhanging floor, seems to have been introduced into England from the Continent of Europe in the fifteenth century. Its origin is due to the medieval method of laying the joists flat, thereby causing a shaky or "dancing" floor; such rickety floors were stabilized by the formation of the jetty, where the weight of the overhanging wall rested on the projecting joists, in this manner.

The most important feature of Bond Castle was the front porch, which was decorated with *turned wooden spindles* (Fig. 6) set in the enclosing wall, and with a curvilinear head on the entrance doorway. Nowhere else in America is there known to have been a seventeenth-century enclosed vestibule with spindles. When Bond Castle was pulled down, a unique architectural monument of medieval style was demolished for all time.

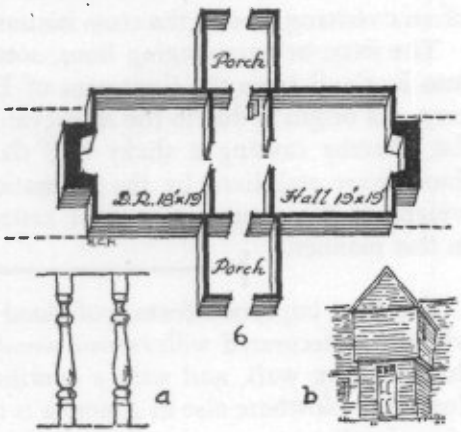
In England the turned spindle was a Jacobean feature employed in the 1500's, and especially about 1600. There are many existing examples, among which are Hope Farm [8] of the sixteenth century, in Edvin Loach, Herefordshire, where the two-storey porch has thick, turned balusters, and also benches on which to sit; Parsonage Farm (Fig. 5), at Much Cowarne, in the same shire, dating from about 1600; and a house at Bourton-on-the Water, Gloucestershire, where the porch spindles are stone.[9]

The origin of the vestibule with spindles and seats, as exemplified by Bond Castle and the English examples listed above, is undoubtedly derived from the parish church in England. Most of these churches have small side vestibules with benches and *traceried* windows. It was an obvious step from the wooden

[8] *Royal Commission . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London, 1931-34), vol. II, pl. 31.

[9] A. T. Broadbent and A. Minoprio, *Minor Architecture of Goucestershire* (London, 1931), pl. 6.

mullions of the fifteenth-century Aconbury Church porch, for instance, to the finished, turned balusters of the seventeenth-century church porch of Holy Trinity, Bradwell, Essex.[10] The baluster which looks like a slat on the late fourteenth-century vestibule at Lower Marston manor-house, Pencombe, Herefordshire, may well form the transitional or intermediary step between Gothic mullion and Jacobean baluster or spindle.



5. Parsonage Farm, Much Cowarne, Herefordshire, England, c. 1600, showing a porch with turned spindles or balusters. After *Royal Commission . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London: 1931-34), vol. II.

6. Bond Castle, Calvert County, Maryland, late 17th century. Block floor plan. Detail of turned spindles, *a.* Rear view, *b.*

The curvilinear head of the doorway in the entrance porch of Bond Castle was also a Jacobean or Flemish feature. The curve was an ogee in the form of a cupid's bow. A coeval English example is the curve on the north porch door head of sixteenth-century Pitchford Hall, Shropshire.

The interior of Bond Castle was almost as interesting as the exterior. The house was entered from the front porch by means of a battened door. A nine-foot wide passageway connected the entrance vestibule with the back porch, and at the rear of this passage stood a tiny winding staircase leading up to the attic bed-

[10] *Royal Commission . . . An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire* (London, 1931-34), vol. I, pl. 80; III, pl. 42, 108; . . . *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments of Essex* (London, 1916-23), vol. III, p. 7.

rooms. Dining room and great hall flanked the passage on either side, each being about nineteen feet square—the dining room perhaps a foot shorter. Both rooms had open beam ceilings. The dining room had a chimney ten feet square, and the great fireplace was capacious enough to hold a seven-foot timber. The mantelpiece had Gothic mouldings, and the over-mantel mural paintings. The central panel was painted, it is supposed, to represent the English home of the Bond family, and the flanking panels showed flower vases. On each side of the fireplace were battened doors with small latches and strap hinges. How eloquently Bond Castle spoke of a deep-rooted medievalism in America!

THE STORY OF MOUNT WASHINGTON, MARYLAND *

By B. Latrobe Weston

Mt. Washington, prosperous and expanding, sits on its hills and, looking back over a period nearly approaching 140 years, meditates on its beginning in a few houses in the vicinity of a cotton mill in the valley of Jones Falls.

The miniature village was distinguished by the name Washingtonville, said to have been derived from a nearby tavern. According to Scharf's Chronicles of Baltimore, the Washington Cotton Manufacturing Company informed the public on March 16, 1810 that construction had been completed and that their plant was now actually in operation. This was the first cotton mill in Maryland, driven by water power and beginning with 288 spindles. The original mill building is standing to-day, although now used only as a warehouse and completely surrounded by the brick structures of the Maryland Nut and Bolt Company. It is four stories in height including the mansard roof, and is so solidly constructed of stone masonry that it bids fair to last forever. At its east end, in its framework above the roof, hangs the bell that formerly summoned the operatives to hours of labor.

Growth of the community was slow for a number of years; the only link with Baltimore was the Falls Road which charged toll fees, and was badly rutted and at times almost impassable. With the advent, however, in 1830 of the Baltimore and Susque-

* Dr. Josiah S. Bowen, Jr. died at his home in Mt. Washington in 1944 at the comparatively early age of sixty-four. He was graduated in medicine from the University of Maryland in 1903, and following in the steps of his father, Dr. Josiah S. Bowen, Sr., practiced in Mt. Washington until 1914. In that year he was appointed Deputy State and County Health Officer for Baltimore County, and was so continued until his retirement in 1940.

During his retirement, being precluded by a heart condition from much physical activity, he rendered a public service by assembling elaborate information concerning every phase of life in Mt. Washington from its beginning as a mill village in 1810. It has been my privilege and pleasure to construct from Dr. Bowen's material a continuous narrative of the growth and development of the community.

Snuff Mill of Forysthe and Cole on Western Run near Cross Country Boulevard, Mount Washington.

From an advertising poster owned by Mrs. J. S. Bowen, Jr.

Mount Washington Railway Station about 1895, looking North
Weidey's Store at left.

From photograph owned by Mrs. Bowen.

hannah Railroad, afterwards merged into the Northern Central, a new period of activity began; and, in the decade following, two rows of brick dwellings arose in the vicinity of the mill, denoting homes for the operatives. The mill continued in operation under successive managers until the difficult period of the Civil War, when it went out of business. A few years later the property was purchased by William E. Hooper, and the Hooper family kept the mill active until 1918, when it was sold to the Maryland Nut and Bolt Company.

A still existing memorial of the time when the mill was in operation is to be seen in the store on Falls Road directly facing the east end of the present viaduct. The store has been remodeled and much altered in appearance, but it still incorporates the original building which dates, according to accredited tradition, from as far back as the building of the mill itself in 1810. For the reason that in 1886 it was run by Sylvester and Patrick Roche, who conducted a hay, feed and grain business, it was known as Roche's Store, and was continued in operation until Sylvester Roche's death in 1907. On the front door for many years after 1868 was a high-water mark of the great flood of that year.

On the north side of the viaduct, so close in fact as to be almost underneath it, stands the Methodist Church, a commodious building, its lower story of stone, its upper of frame construction. The corner stone of this Church was laid in 1860, but this does not mean that no services were held in the village by the Methodists prior to that date. The territory was included in what was known as the "Summerfield Circuit," and there is evidence that Methodist services were regularly conducted from a date early in the century in a hall on the Falls Road. In a pamphlet published in 1908 by the Rev. Wilbur Watkins, giving a sketch of the history of St. John's Church, Mt. Washington, he narrates that information had come to him from reliable sources that when Mr. William Woodward, an Episcopalian, was in charge of the mill in the year 1822, he established and conducted a Sunday School; and that when he left the village he turned the school over to the Methodists, since there were at that time no Episcopalians to take charge of it.

Mr. Woodward lived to a great old age and was afterwards Superintendent for more than fifty years of the Sunday School of St. Peter's Episcopal Church, Druid Hill Avenue and Lanvale

Street. This brings a personal recollection since, as a boy, I attended that Sunday School until I was eleven or twelve years old. Vividly do I remember Mr. Woodward's venerable appearance as, each Sunday morning, he visited every class and bestowed an individual hand-clasp on each teacher and scholar.

Mr. Charles Blake, an Eastern Shore man came to Mt. Washington in 1863, and was prominent in the Methodist Church until his death, thirty years later, in 1893. Throughout this period he kept a note book relating to the affairs of the church, and this records some interesting details. The church was twice destroyed by fire and twice rebuilt, in the years 1871 and 1881. It was in the second rebuilding that the upper story of frame construction was added to what had been up to that time a one-story building. The church was inundated in the great flood of 1868, and a melodeon was floated out and was afterwards found at Melvale. The land on which the church stands had been donated by William E. Hooper, who purchased the mill property, and the bell of the mill for many years rang to summon to all services.

Of the long list of resident pastors one, Rev. Hobart Smith pastor from 1873 to 1875, was afterwards well-known in the region of the Green Spring Valley. He became an Episcopal minister and was rector from 1888 to 1923 of St. Thomas' Church, Garrison Forest, where many of the families in the Green Spring Valley and in the country lying northward, attend. And after his retirement on account of age he served as Chaplain of Hannah More Academy, Reisterstown, until his death in 1934.

The poet Longfellow happily immortalized the village blacksmith before, giving place to the automobile mechanic, he passed wholly from the scene. For a period much longer than fifty years Mt. Washington included among its inhabitants a village blacksmith. On the west side of the Falls Road, a little south of the former Roche's store, Milton Willey practiced blacksmithing prior to 1871. Earlum Buckley came from Rockland and took over the shop and dwelling in January 1871. Earlum Buckley had several sons and one of them, George Buckley, succeeded to the business when his father retired in 1882. George Buckley built a new shop and residence on the east side of Falls Road and, combining carriage-building with blacksmithing, pursued his calling until 1927, when he retired.

I knew Mr. Buckley quite well before his retirement. He was of

good height, well-built and muscular; and I feel confident in affirming that, like Longfellow's blacksmith, " the muscles of his brawny arms were strong as iron bands." He lives to-day in his home on the hill above his former workshop.

The group of houses west of the Falls Road and north of Belvedere Avenue, although not, strictly speaking, belonging to Mt. Washington, merits, nevertheless, a brief account of its origin and development. In the year 1860, Charles Lewis Mattfeldt came to Mt. Washington and for five years conducted a general store business. In 1865 he purchased a farm of 72 acres bounded on the west by Jones Falls and extending eastward across the Falls Road to include the property later known as Court McSherry. The southern boundary of the tract was Belvedere Avenue, and it spread northward to a corner just south of the present viaduct where Jones Falls and the Falls Road come close together. In 1873 Mr. Mattfeldt sold Court McSherry to Mr. Harry Lehr, German Consul in Baltimore, father of the famous Harry Lehr of Baltimore, New York and Paris. Mr.Lehr subsequently conveyed the property to Richard McSherry, who made it his home for many years, and from whom it acquired its name. It has since then become the Egenton Home for Girls, a privately endowed institution, but under the direction of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore. In the same year in which he disposed of Court McSherry, Mr. Mattfeldt built a home for himself on the summit of the steep hill over-looking Jones Falls at the southwest corner of his property, and occupied it until his death in the year 1882. The house is now designated 1309 Belvedere Avenue.

Mr. Mattfeldt's son, Otto Martin Mattfeldt, beginning in 1888 built the four houses between his father's home, now his own, and the Falls Road. And between 1886 and the mid-nineties following, he opened Mattfeldt and Sabina Avenues through his property to the north of Belvedere Avenue and built the houses that constitute the development bordering on these streets.

If we take a ride westward on Smith Avenue and turn in to the right by a rough roadway, just short of the little assemblage of houses known as the Bare Hills group, we shall come immediately upon a rubbish heap, and in it an opening almost filled up encircled by what was evidently a fence of very heavy metal, now, however, lying prone on the ground. This small depression, insignificant as it is, denotes what was formerly a very deep shaft,

giving access to a copper mine. About the time of the establishment of the cotton-mill Seraphim Belli, a Baltimore brass-worker, purchased the tract known to-day as the Bare Hills and discovered copper on his property. It was not until many years later, however, some time prior to 1860, that copper was mined with a measure of success by Thomas Peathrick, and later by Isaac Tyson, under contract with the owner of the land. In 1860 a company, headed by William H. Kuner, was incorporated and considerable copper was mined for a number of years; but operations ceased in the early eighteen-nineties. About 1901 under a new company the mine, then full of water, was pumped out and mining was resumed; but with such poor results that the enterprise was finally abandoned.

In the preceding narrative we have several times overpassed the epochal year 1854, which marks the beginning of a development which was to transform the small industrial village into an expanding residential suburb. It was on March 24th of that year that George Gelbach Jr., with whom were associated Dr. Elias Heiner and Dr. John G. Morris, acquired by deed from Grafton Dulany and Luke Tiernan a tract to the west of the Northern Central Railroad, to be known as Mt. Washington Rural Retreat. This comprised the greater part of what is now Mt. Washington proper, including Mt. Saint Agnes, The Terraces, part of Dixon Hill and the section adjacent to South Road, as far west as the present Pollard Street, between the properties of Judge Frank and Mr. Fink. A map prepared by William Sides, surveyor at the time of the transfer, now in possession of the Mt. Washington Branch of the Pratt Library, shows Smith Avenue as already existing and the two projected avenues North (now Sulgrave) Avenue and South Road, with bordering lots and five connecting streets.

Smith Avenue, shown on the map, was, as it is to-day, the road connecting Mt. Washington ultimately with the Reisterstown Road and the country to westward. It is supposed to have been laid out in the eighteen-thirties, and takes its name from Joseph Smith, Senior, and Joseph Smith, Junior, men in whom enterprise descended from father to son. The elder Smith came to this country from England in the first decade of the eighteen hundreds, and settled in the neighborhood of what is now Mt. Washington. His son, Joseph Smith Jr., was born in 1814 and obtained his early education in a little log school house on the Old Pimlico Road.

At the age of fourteen he found employment in business in Baltimore and by 1853 had accumulated a considerable fortune. Thereafter he purchased "Wellwood," an estate on Smith Avenue which has in recent years become the Curtis Airport. He had been married in 1846, but his wife lived only two years; and from the time he took up his residence at Wellwood his sisters, Mary and Winifred, kept house for him. He died in 1894 at the age of eighty.

In June 1854 George Gelbach issued an advertising pamphlet extolling the beauties and advantages of the Mt. Washington tract. Fortunately Mr. William Conkling of Dixon Hill, of recent and venerated memory, possessed one of these pamphlets, which he presented to the Pratt Library's Mt. Washington Branch for preservation. In glowing terms the pamphlet describes the terrain as a region of hills and vales, running streams and springs of purest water; and the purpose of the development is set forth as follows:

"The design of the enterprise is to furnish to those seeking it, a healthy, retired and respectable country residence, avoiding the monotony of a village, or the crowding and confinement of the city, yet retaining the advantages of a community; in short having the conveniences of the city with the advantages of the country."

In the area included in the tract there was one piece of land that was not divided into lots, but was reserved for sale in its entirety. This was the property now occupied in part by Sacred Heart Church but which formerly extended along Smith Avenue to what is now Thornbury road, whence its boundary ran in a southwesterly direction to Western Run, its southern limit. It belonged in the past to Clover Hill Farm, a tract of large extent, which included in addition Dixon Park. The property in question was acquired in 1848 by Luke Brian, who purchased it from the executors of John Kelso, the late owner of the Farm. Luke Brian built for his home a large stone mansion stuccoed on the outside, located some distance further westward than Sacred Heart rectory, and on the slope toward Smith Avenue. He also constructed a stone wall along the entire boundary. The mansion overlooked a spacious lawn, diversified with evergreens, flower-beds and shrubbery, and nearby was a large orchard.

In 1866 the estate was purchased by Peter George Sauerwein, who named it "Glen Mary" in honor of Mary his wife. He occupied it until his death twenty years later, in 1886. Shortly

thereafter the property was rented, first to Captain William Francis Seagrave, British Consul, who rejoiced in a stature of 6ft. 8 in., and afterward to Mr. and Mrs. Parks Fisher. It was while the latter were in possession that, on May 1st, 1892, the mansion was visited by a disastrous fire started by sparks from an open fire-place, which reduced it to a ruin.

The burning of "Glen Mary" leads naturally to the story of the establishment of the Mt. Washington Fire Department. The need of the village for a fire engine had been agitated as early as 1885; but it was not until 1891 that the County Commissioners, yielding to the popular demand and stirred up by recent fires, purchased a lot on the north side of Sulgrave Ave, just back of the stores on Newbury Street, and began the construction of the engine house of green stone that is in use to-day. The first floor comprised a large room for the engine and horses and also a court room for the Squire or Justice of the Peace, with three cells for the detention of prisoners. The building was completed in June 1892 and on the 28th of the month the engine, previously purchased from the Charles T. Holloway Company, was installed. Unfortunately this was nearly two months after the fire that destroyed "Glen Mary"; had the engine been on the ground the mansion might have been saved. The engine had in fact been delivered by the Holloway Company; but, inasmuch as the building had not been ready, it had been housed in Hampden. When summoned by telephone the firemen made a valiant attempt to reach the scene of action, and the two white horses, Tom and Jerry, almost laid their bellies to the ground along Roland Avenue, Belvedere Avenue and Falls Road; but the house was already a smoking pile of rubble when the goal was attained. The route followed was preferred to the shorter route by the Falls Road, because the latter was at that time poorly surfaced and hilly.

With the burning of Glen Mary the village lost "its oldest and most aristocratic residence," according to comment at the time; and its destruction was greatly deplored.

The high lying tract, known to-day as "The Terraces," and included in the purchase of George Gelbach in 1854, was acquired about the close of the Civil War by Dr. John Cavendish Smith Monkur, who had a city residence and office on Broadway, and proposed to live in the country only during the summer. Dr. Monkur built a roadway to the summit from Smith Avenue and

constructed a frame house limited to one and a half stories on the site now occupied by the home of Marshall Jones. He laid out a lawn and decorated it with shrubbery, but did not live long to enjoy his purchase, dying in 1867. His family retained possession of the property until 1896, when it was acquired by Omar F. Hershey of the law firm of Crain and Hershey. Mr. August John Bauernschmidt, however, who was associated with the firm, formed immediately the Mt. Washington Realty Company and took over the tract from Mr. Hershey. He named it "The Terraces" and selected for his own home the site of Dr. Monkur's house. He replaced it, however, with a mansion of generous dimensions and lived in it from 1898 to 1907. He sold it to Leonard Nolley, who afterwards conveyed it to Marshall Jones, the present owner.

Of those who have lived on The Terraces I recollect with pleasure the artist Henry Whiteman, who built his home at 1605 Terrace Drive in 1907. Here he enjoyed the beautiful view across the valley from the rear windows until his death. I knew him personally at the Charcoal Club where he was instructor for a number of years. He was also on the staff of the Maryland Institute and had an established reputation as a landscape painter.

Mr. Omar Hershey built his home at 1601 Terrace Drive in 1898. He is fond of change of scene, but here he is still to be found at times during the year. In earlier days Mr. Hershey took a prominent part in the social life of the community, as will be narrated in following pages.

In addition to developing The Terraces, the Mt. Washington Realty Company in 1897 purchased the Sauerwein property, on which were still the charred remains of the old mansion. Shortly thereafter a sale was effected to George Albert Boyden, who built for himself the residence which is now the rectory of Sacred Heart Church. When asked why he did not rebuild on the original site where the ruin stood, he replied: "You can build a house, but you can't build up ruins."

Boyden had a patent on an airbrake which the Westinghouse people were anxious to secure. After long negotiation he finally accepted a settlement on terms that afforded him the means of living in ease and retirement the rest of his life.

After Boyden's death, prior to 1917, his residence and sufficient ground to accomodate a church passed by purchase from his

executors to the Roman Catholic Church; and this introduces immediately the Sisters of Mercy and the story of the establishment of Mt. Saint Agnes College.

Plainly visible to-day from Smith Avenue, on the top of the hill, in the grounds of Mt. Saint Agnes, is a brick building, four stories in height, and distinguished by its octagonal shape. It dates from the year 1855, when, on May 5th, its cornerstone was laid. A year later, on May 5th, 1856, the completed building was dedicated to educational uses as the Mt. Washington Female College. With its furnishings and twenty-one acres of land it represented an expenditure of $30,000. Its founders and contributors were evidently of the German Reformed Church, since a small church or chapel, designated St. John's German Reformed Church, was built at the foot of the hill on Smith Avenue in the same year as the College, and was consecrated by the Rev. Elias Heiner and other ministers. The College did not prosper financially since, on Dec. 15, 1860, both College and Church were sold at auction for $15,400. There were several succeeding transfers, but under new educators conduct of the College was continued until, during the Civil War, attendance of scholars was so much diminished that the institution had to be closed.

Services in the Church as an adjunct of the College were discontinued in 1861; but for several years, as a Union Chapel, the building was used at their convenience by various denominations. This was in fact the first church erected in Mt. Washington.

In January, 1867, the College, Church and adjoining acreage were purchased for the Sisters of Mercy by Charles Dougherty; and the name, Mt. Saint Agnes, was given in memory of Mr. Dougherty's wife. With seven sisters in residence a Catholic boarding school for girls was undertaken. Since then new construction has been so extensive that the original octagon building is no more than an adjunct. Here with adequate dormitories and provided with every facility, Mt. St. Agnes College for Women is conducted, and has been approved by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Middle States and Maryland. There is also a Grammar School for Boys.

In the summer months a school of instruction is carried on for the Sisters of Mercy of the Province, which includes many of the eastern and southern States.

After certain necessary additions to make room for a chancel

and altar, the church formerly St. John's Reformed Church, was re-named the Church of the Sacred Heart; and the Roman Catholic service was celebrated in it during a period of about fifty years. In the pastorate of Father Peter Tarro, from 1909 to 1915, the ground for a new church was purchased from the executors of the Boyden estate; and under Father Francis Edward Craig, who succeeded Father Tarro, the present church was erected in 1917, modeled, it is said, on the lines of St. Giles church in Stoke Poges, England, which inspired Gray's " Elegy." At some time thereafter the old church was removed.

Let us now betake ourselves to the western section of what was once Clover Hill Farm, the tract known to-day as Dixon Hill. This was purchased in 1856 by Thomas Dixon, an architect by profession, one of whose constructions was the Mt. Vernon Methodist Church. Mr. Dixon built two houses on what is now Thornbury road, but postponed further construction on account of the disturbed condition of affairs in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. It was not until he became interested in a lumber company and desired an outlet for his product, that, in 1873, he undertook active building operations. Within the decade following he planned and constructed fifteen houses, each one of which was promptly sold. These houses have all of them changed ownership or occupancy several times, but they are all occupied as homes to-day. We mention just one of them, that of Mr. William H. Conkling, former president of the Savings Bank of Baltimore. He purchased it in 1879 and lived in it until his death in 1932 at the ripe age of ninety-one years.

We shall now proceed westward, following Kelly Avenue and Cross Country Boulevard, and shall presently arrive at the bridge over Western Run where Green Spring Avenue and Old Pimlico Road come together. If we now continue a quarter of a mile or more westward along the Cross Country Boulevard, we shall see on the left hand the remnant of a dam abutting against the hillside and even the faint tracery of a mill-race. There was in fact a mill in this locality prior to 1855, but by whom it was built and operated cannot be discovered. In 1855, however, Manuel Thomas Forsyth, a cigar-maker by trade, and Louis H. Cole formed a partnership, took over and reconditioned the old mill, then out of use, and operated it as a snuff mill until some time during the Civil War, when they dissolved partnership. They manufactured

" Scotch snuff," or " Rappee snuff," putting it up into packages which they labeled " Virginia Tobacco." After the dissolution of the partnership the mill was never again operated; and it is believed that it was so much damaged by the flood of 1868 that it was practically destroyed. The two-story stone house now on the property was built about the same time as the mill, and was occupied by the owner.

In the eighteen-seventies the mill property was the scene of a tragedy in the lower walks of life. In one of several tenement houses on the land lived a colored woman and her three sons, Aquilla, Briscoe and Wesley. One night Briscoe and Wesley had a quarrel and to avoid trouble Briscoe, after some altercation, retired upstairs. When Wesley followed him Briscoe drew a pistol and warned Wesley not to come any further. Wesley disregarded the warning and Briscoe shot and killed him. In the trial that followed Briscoe was acquitted on the ground of self defense. He lived many years thereafter and became a familiar figure, pushing his hand-cart full of materials for whitewashing stables, fences and chicken-houses.

The property, covering 85 acres and known as the " Labyrinth " at the time, was purchased by Mr. Robert Holloway Hooper in 1882. In 1889 he erected a large stone dwelling on the hill overlooking the meadow-land. Here he lived until his death in 1934 in his eighty-fifth year. His wife followed him in 1938, also in her eighty-fifth year.

The Great Flood of 1868 has impressed itself indelibly upon the story of Mt. Washington as an episode of prime importance. All the streams in the vicinity of Baltimore city rose to record-breaking heights and Scharf, in his *Chronicles of Baltimore*, delivers himself as follows: " Our city on Friday July 24th was visited by one of the most appalling and destructive calamities that has overtaken it since 1837."

Thursday, July 16, 1868, was an excessively hot day, the thermometer ranging from 97 to 101 degrees in the shade. On Friday at 2 o'clock A. M. the storm began, accompanied by thunder and lightning. At 8 A. M. it increased in intensity and continued until after 2 P. M. The precipitation, lasting over a period of twelve hours, was more than sufficient to cause an extraordinary rise in Jones Falls and its tributaries. But what made the flood at Mt. Washington inevitable was the giving way of the bank

abutting the dam at Lake Roland, and the breaking of the dam at the snuff mill on Western Run and of still another dam farther down stream, belonging to an abandoned mill located just below the Boy Scout's House. This mill had burned down in 1849, but the dam still existed. At the confluence of Jones Falls and Western Run the waters rose to such a height as to reach half way up the first story of the former Roche's store. The Northern Central Railroad bridge was carried down stream and part of it was never recovered. One of the brick houses in the factory grounds was washed away, and two others were so badly undermined that they had to be demolished. There was only one fatality, but that a sad one. A boy, whom the Sisters of Mercy had undertaken to bring up, was swept from the foot-bridge which then spanned the watercourse at the entrance to Mt. Saint Agnes. Some days later his body was found in the bed of Jones Falls.

As the flood waters continued to rise the mill operatives were forced to evacuate their homes and found temporary refuge on the slopes of Mt. St. Agnes.

Let us now take a look at downtown Mt. Washington as it appeared in the last quarter of the eighteen hundreds. Our attention is immediately arrested by a brick building, three stories in height, on the south side of Sulgrave Avenue and fronting on the railroad. This building was erected by George Gelbach when the property was opened up for development and, as announced in his Prospectus, was to be " The Mt. Washington House," designed to serve as store, post-office and station room, and also to provide accommodation for guests for a longer or shorter period. It never, however, became a hotel or the local railroad station, but was operated immediately as a store and from time to time accommodated the Post Office. The first proprietor was Joseph I. Gambrill, the owner of the cotton mill. He was succeeded later in 1860, by Charles Lewis Mattfeldt who, as we have related, purchased the estate of Court McSherry. During Mr. Mattfeldt's incumbency a sad tragedy took place. His son Otto, five years old, was playing on the railroad tracks before the store with other children, among whom was Eddy Pontier. Otto failed to see an oncoming northbound train, and Eddie, in a frantic effort to save him, succeeded in pushing him from the track, but was himself struck by the engine and instantly killed. The train stopped at the station, and several passengers, alighting, hurried back to the

small group that had collected, to see what had happened. Among them was Mr. Pontier, Eddie's father, who thus, without warning, discovered the lifeless body of his son.

Mr. Mattfeldt sold the property to Charles Albert Weidey and it was known thereafter as "Weidey's Store," being conducted by the Weideys, father and son successively, during a period of more than thirty years. The son, Charles Weidey Jr., who followed his father as proprietor in 1880, made extensive additions and improvements and carried on until 1898, when he retired to become Captain of the Fire Department.

Another store was successfully conducted from 1891 to 1904 by the firm of Smith and Hamilton. The store building is still to be seen at the northwest corner of Sulgrave Avenue and Newbury Street, and is now denominated the Mt. Washington Tavern. James Hamilton of the firm passed his whole life in Mt. Washington. When he died in 1938 at the age of seventy-nine he was designated the community's oldest inhabitant, and had been familiarly known for a number of years as "Uncle Jimmy." His uncle, Robert Hamilton, purchased in 1836 ninety-one acres of land surrounding what are now the Hamilton greenhouses, and this property was afterwards acquired by his father, James Hamilton. The latter built in 1848 the family home which stands to-day substantially as it was originally constructed. In a room of this house his son, James Hamilton, was born in 1859; and in the same room he died seventy-nine years later.

Smith and Hamilton's store carried a full line of staple and fancy groceries, cakes, candies, tobacco and hardware, and had also an up-to-date refrigerator from which refrigerated meats were furnished. Miss Annie Smith, sister of Mr. Smith of the partnership, presided over the Woman's Department, where cotton goods, ribbons and spools of silk and cotton were displayed. Miss Annie was a favorite with all customers, but especially with the children. In an adjacent warehouse hay, feed and farm implements were stored and there was also a coal and wood yard. From his farm and conservatory Mr. Hamilton supplied an abundance of vegetables, potted plants, and fruit in season.

Mr. Hamilton was appointed Squire or Justice of the Peace in 1886, and held the first session of court in the court room provided in the engine house. He continued to be Squire until 1897. He was also Postmaster from 1893 to 1896. In those days there was

no need for delivery of the mail, since the villagers found it agreeable to visit the Hamilton store, chat with incomers and receive letters in person.

Mr. Hamilton made a trip to the Klondike in 1897, at the time of the Gold Rush, and came back with a wealth of information and experience. He was an excellent raconteur, and, when invited to address the men of St. John's Church, at one of their meetings, told his story so effectively that it was voted by all present a highly entertaining narrative.

It was back in 1867, after the Union Chapel on Smith Avenue had been acquired by the Sisters of Mercy, that Miss Sallie Van Patten, who had conducted a private school in the chapel, appealed to Mr. William Saffell to construct a building suitable for a school, as no such building existed west of the railroad. Mr. Saffell evidently took the suggestion seriously since, in the summer of 1867, he built a combination store and hall on Sulgrave Avenue, not far from the present intersection of Sulgrave Avenue and Kelly Avenue. Here Miss Van Patten held her school for a time. Saffell Hall, however, immediately became available for public meetings of any sort—community meetings, lectures, dances, dramatic or musical entertainments—and was so used until the opening of the Casino in 1884. In Saffell Hall was also organized the first public school in Mt. Washington.

Perley Ray Lovejoy was a veteran of the Civil War and had suffered a wound in the shoulder which partially disabled his left arm. After the war he taught in the Baltimore City College, but came to live in Mt. Washington in 1873, and managed to obtain the attendance of a small number of girls in classes held at his home. He was persuaded of the need of a public school in the village and, after conference with the County School Board, secured an agreement that, if he could assemble a sufficient number of scholars, the Board would appoint him principal. With this understanding the school was successfully opened in 1877.

Mr. Lovejoy was principal for the six years ending in 1883, and witnessed the transfer of the school to the new stone building prepared for it on Sulgrave Avenue in 1882.

Mr. and Mrs. Lovejoy came to Mt. Washington to occupy the property on South Road, now the home of Mr. Harry O. Norris, and named by him "Wimbledon." Mr. Isaac Albertson, Mrs. Lovejoy's brother, purchased the property in 1873, desiring to

live in it during the summer only. Under Mrs. Lovejoy's management it was conducted as a boarding house for a period of about twenty-five years, and was widely known for its home-like atmosphere and the excellence of its table. Mr. Lovejoy died here in 1889, six years after the ending of his term as school principal.

If we walk up Sulgrave Avenue hill we shall see on the right hand side, a little beyond the public school, a building finished in brown shingles and having the somewhat unusual octagonal shape. There seems reliable evidence that it was built as a home for himself by Mr. Charles Yardley; but the tradition persists that a certain architect living in the city had three daughters, who quarreled continually as to which should have the front room in his house. When in the early eighteen-sixties he built in Mt. Washington, he chose the octagonal shape with a purpose, expressing it in the brief but emphatic sentence: "Damn if they were'nt all going to have front rooms!"

We have no disposition to discredit the tradition; traditions are always more colorful than prosaic facts.

A little further up the hill, facing Helendale Street, we come upon the Roxabelle Apartments, three stories in height including the mansard, and conspicuous from its size. It was built by Mr. and Mrs. William Canby in 1866.

The corner stone of St. John's Episcopal Church was laid April 29, 1869, and the church was completed and opened for divine service October 3, 1869. The Church may properly be called an offshoot from the Church of the Redeemer on Charles St. Avenue, since it was through the persistent effort of the Rev. George C. Stokes, Rector of that Church that the church at Mt. Washington was organized and established. Dr. Stokes believed that there should be an Episcopal church in the new and growing community and in 1864 he began to hold afternoon services, first in Union Chapel on Smith Avenue and afterwards in Saffell Hall. When the church was incorporated in June, 1867, a call was extended by the Vestry to Dr. Stokes to become Rector; and this call he accepted as a temporary expedient, serving as Rector until July, 1870, while still continuing as Rector of the Church of the Redeemer. Shortly thereafter he was succeeded by Rev. Charles H. Shield. The old church building remained until 1928, when the present brick church replaced it.

The Mt. Washington Presbyterian Church owed its beginning,

strange to say, to a certain development in the affairs of St. John's Episcopal Church. In the early eighteen-seventies it came to the knowledge of the Bishop of the Diocese that the canon law of the Diocese, requiring that vestrymen be Episcopalians, had not been observed in Mt. Washington; and he forthwith directed that this condition must not continue. It therefore became the painful duty of the Episcopal rector to ask for the resignation of several vestrymen, among whom was Mr. J. Harmanus Fisher. Mr. Fisher readily comprehended the situation, and relieved the rector's embarassment by an immediate withdrawal.

Mr. and Mrs. Fisher together with several others of the Presbyterian faith began to consider the possibility of forming a congregation of their own, and in March, 1877, nine ladies met with Mrs. Fisher at her home and organized a sewing society for the purpose of establishing a Presbyterian Church. The women converted their husbands and other men to the proposal and, receiving the support of Dr. Murkland of Franklin Street Church, petition was made by the group in September, 1877, to the Presbytery. The Presbytery responded by appointing a committee to organize a church in Mt. Washington. On Sept. 27, 1877, at a meeting held in Saffell's Hall, organization was perfected, J. Harmanus Fisher and Thomas Dixon being installed as Elders. Rev. R. L. McMurran became first Pastor.

Elder Thomas Dixon, who was at that time developing his property on Dixon Hill, gave a building lot and by July, 1878, the congregation was worshiping in the completed church.

It was during the pastorate of Dr. Wilfred Shaw that on Sunday morning Jan. 29, 1922, Mt. Washington awoke to find itself buried under a two-foot fall of snow. At that time Mrs. Charles Lord was living in one of the two houses built by her father, Peter Sauerwein, at Smith Avenue and Thornbury Road. Being a very determined elderly lady she managed, despite the encumbering medium, to struggle up the hill to the church door at the time of morning service, where she met Dr. Shaw who, with somewhat less difficulty had come down the hill from the manse. No other worshiper appeared. Now it is recorded of Dean Swift that in his parish in Ireland his congregation consisted frequently of but two persons, himself and the sexton; and that nevertheless he went faithfully through the service beginning: " Dearly beloved brother Thomas, the Scripture moveth you and me in sundry

places and in divers manners to acknowledge and confess our sins," and so following. Dr. Shaw did not emulate the Dean's example and, after a short interval of waiting, the twain parted with a handclasp and a "God be with you," and returned on their separate paths as they had come.

Elderslie Methodist Church, on Old Pimlico Road near Kenoak, now counted a fourth among the Protestant churches of Mt. Washington, is not included within the limits of Mt. Washington proper, and was not built until 1916. It serves a large and expanding territory.

Let us now betake us to Rogers Avenue just at the turn of the roadway to the Belvedere Avenue bridge. It was here that William Whitelock, who owned an extensive tract of land fronting on the north side of Rogers Avenue, built in 1866 a large frame house of three stories including the mansard. He called his estate "Wildwood," and constructed a driveway down the east side of the property to South Road; whence by Newbury Street he had access to the railroad station. His son, George Whitelock, married Louisa, the daughter of Peter Sauerwein, and a daughter, Elizabeth, married Daniel B. Dorsey. For his daughter and her husband, Mr. Whitelock built the red-roofed cottage which stands to-day just off Rogers Avenue, overlooked by the original mansion. The latter has been much altered and extended since in 1930 "Happy Hills," a convalescing home for children, acquired the property and has made extensive improvements. The cottage is now the Nurses Home. William Whitelock died in 1893.

From "Wildwood" we pass to "Wayside," between South Road and Rogers Avenue and west of Roxbury Place. "Wayside" was originally part of the Wildwood estate and was in 1868 conveyed by William Whitelock to Emily Leary, wife of Thomas H. H. Leary. The Learys built the three-story frame house with mansard roof. In 1882 the property passed to John M. Carter and Florence S. Carter. Mr. and Mrs. Carter made the house their home for the rest of their lives, Mr. Carter dying in 1915 and Mrs. Carter in 1919.

Mr. Carter was a distinguished member of the Baltimore Bar and Past Grand Master of Masons in Maryland. For more than thirty years he was a vestryman of St. John's Episcopal Church and was president of the Mt. Washington Improvement Association. He was for many years a member of the Board of Directors of

the Maryland Institute and, when the building on Marsh Market Space was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1904, he visited Andrew Carnegie in New York City, and was successful in securing from him a liberal donation toward the new building on Mt. Royal Avenue.

Mr. Carter adopted at times in his home a somewhat unusual regimen for the evening and following night. Retiring about nine o'clock he would sleep until between two and three in the morning, and would then rise and devote two or three hours to his legal work. Thereafter he would go to rest again, rising to a late breakfast. Being so employed one night, he heard someone outside on the porch and, walking in some concern to the front door, he admitted, to his great surprise, an acquaintance and fellow townsman. The latter was evidently under the pressure of some strong emotion, for he was trembling violently; and Mr. Carter promptly administered a drink to settle his nerves. He presently apologized for his visit at so untimely an hour, but said that he was aware of Mr. Carter's habit of working at night, and that he had something of great importance to discuss with him. He then related that his son sometime previously had run over and killed a man on Park Heights Avenue. The boy, terror-stricken, had acted the part of a hit-and-run driver, and no one knew that he was a principal in the tragedy; but the burden had lain so heavily on his conscience that only that evening he had told his father the whole story. "And now, Mr. Carter," said his visitor, "I want you to take the case and do the best you can for my poor boy." Mr. Carter objected that, as the applicant should know, he was not a criminal lawyer; but after some discussion it was finally agreed that Mr. Carter should associate with himself some lawyer to appear in court, and that together they would conduct the defense. Mr. Carter engaged John S. Ensor and they were successful in securing a verdict imposing only a fine of a hundred dollars.

Mr. and Mrs. John T. Graham came to Mt. Washington in 1866. Mr. Graham was a real estate operator and engaged forthwith in the purchase and development of real estate. He built and sold a number of houses on Sulgrave Avenue and also extended Walcott Avenue and named it Roxbury Place. Here, in the later eighteen-seventies, he built five of the six houses that now constitute the group. These were promptly sold and occupied. The

sixth and much larger residence, that faces Mr. Graham's houses across a broad lawn, was built at a later date.

Shortly after his arrival in Mt. Washington Mr. Graham erected the three-story building on South Road, now known as "The Oaks" apartment house, but which Mr. Graham called "Hillside." In this commodious mansion Mrs. Graham accommodated boarders, and the Grahams made it their home for many years. Mrs. Graham was before her marriage Elizabeth Turner, of the large Turner family of Quaker origin, and a sister of Charles Yardley Turner, whose mural paintings adorn the Baltimore Court House. To the home of his sister Mr. Turner was a frequent visitor. In company with artists of the Baltimore group, he participated in sketching parties in the picturesque neighborhood of Mt. Washington, and all gathered for a social lunch served by Mrs. Graham at "Hillside."

Two doctors are inseparably connected with the earlier and later history of Mt. Washington. These were Dr. Josiah S. Bowen, Sr. and Dr. William J. Todd.

Dr. Bowen was born in Baltimore county in 1832 and established himself in Mt. Washington in 1865. He lived at 1710 South Road. Thereafter he served the community as a general practitioner for thirty-five years. His territory was a large one, extending from Baltimore to Brooklandville and Lutherville, and from Govanstown to Arlington. He is said to have officiated at the birth of about thirteen hundred babies. He was visiting physician to Mt. St. Agnes and surgeon to the Northern Central Railroad. He was a member of the Methodist Church and of several fraternal organizations, notably the Masons and the Knights of Pythias.

Dr. Bowen died in harness, sitting in his office chair in August, 1900.

Dr. William James Todd was born in Pittsburgh in 1857 and spent the first thirty years of his life in that city. In 1890 he came to Mt. Washington and a year afterward built his home on South Road adjoining St. John's Episcopal Church on the east side. In 1927 he built a new home at 2217 South Road which he occupied until his retirement in 1940. He died in Washington D. C. in 1942.

During the fifty years of his sojourn in Mt. Washington Dr. Todd built up a large practice as a general practitioner. He was a member of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland and the American Medical Association, and was a deep student of all

things pertaining to his profession. He was interested in the history of Mt. Washington, and prepared and read before the Baltimore Medical Society sketches of the lives of a number of the physicians who had been active in Baltimore county. He was an Episcopalian and for some years was a vestryman of St. John's Episcopal Church.

During the forty years following the death of Dr. Bowen, Dr. Todd was recognized as the leading physician of Mt. Washington.

When George Gelbach in 1854 began the development of the Mt. Washington property, he reserved for himself thirteen acres on the south side of South Road toward the bottom of the hill, with a frontage of a thousand feet. Here he built for himself a home that, for the time, was extraordinarily well equipped for convenience of living. The house was three stories in height with a four-story tower in front, in which was a water tank supplied with water by a ram from a neighboring stream. The driveway wound through grounds shaded by oak and pine trees, and there were gravel walks bordered by shrubbery. Mr. Gelbach occupied the property for about nine years and then rented it to William S. Rayner, father of United States Senator Isador Rayner. The Rayners lived there for a few years following the year 1865.

Young Rayner was at that time a lad of fifteen years. He had already determined to adopt the law as his profession and sought to develop his voice by declaiming among the trees. On one occasion certain visitors, as they approached the house, heard him vociferating in a terrifying manner and, after first greetings had been exchanged with his father, made haste to say that there was certainly an insane man raving outside, and that it would be well to inform the authorities. It was necessary for Mr. Rayner to explain the situation, at the same time indulging in a laugh in which the visitors joined heartily.

In 1869 the property was acquired by J. Harmanus Fisher, who occupied it for fifteen years. Mr. Fisher gave it the name of "Labordière" after a French family with which his wife was distantly connected. He added to the residence a billiard room, and in this room were held several services of the newly organized Presbyterian congregation, while the building of a church was awaited. Meetings of various other organizations were held in this room, which came to be known as "Labordière Hall."

In his later years Mr. Fisher devoted his leisure to the making of wren-houses, for which he devised elaborate machinery.

Mr. Fisher sold the property in 1884 to Henry McShane, owner of the McShane Bell Foundry. Ownership remained in the McShane family until 1900, and for some years in the nineties the place was rented to the Robinson family, of social prominence in Baltimore.

Lawrence B. Kemp was the next owner and, while President of the Commercial and Farmers National Bank, Mr. Kemp occupied the property from 1900 to 1904. He came to Mt. Washington in 1891 and lived first on Maywood Avenue. He became a vestryman of St. John's Church and was for a time superintendent of the sunday-school. He took an active interest in public affairs, and organized the " Bread Winners Club " among those in the community whose earnings availed for practically nothing beyond daily needs. For three winters he gave entertainments on Friday evenings for six weeks for an admission fee of ten cents, engaging for entertainers, singers, musicians, ventriloquists and magicians. Needless to say the hall was crowded to full capacity.

In his home at " Labordière " Mr. Kemp entertained successively Lyman T. Gage and Leslie M. Shaw, Secretaries of the Treasury, and William Barrett Ridgely, Comptroller of the Currency.

The property was purchased in 1905 by J. Edwin Griffith, and Mr. and Mrs. Griffith made it their home until Mr. Griffith's death in 1934. Since then it has been unoccupied and, sad to say, has fallen into ruin and decay.

Some distance westward from " Labordière " along South Road is the residence designated 1805, since 1925 the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Murphy. In 1866 the house and grounds were conveyed to Ellen E. Scott, wife of Rossiter Scott. Mr. Scott died in the early nineties, and shortly after the family rented the property and did not occupy it again. However, Townsend Scott, Rossiter Scott's son, lived in Mt. Washington during his boyhood and early manhood, and knew practically everybody in the community. On one occasion I spent an evening with Mr. Scott and was greatly entertained by his reminiscences of the companions and associates of his younger days in the village. No man was ever more affable and agreeable than Townsend Scott; he liked everybody and everybody liked him. Fortunately for him he died before the

failure in the depression of the thirties of his firm, Townsend Scott and Son, founded by his grandfather in 1832, one hundred years before.

Miss Ella Culbreth was a relative of the Scott family and for a time made her home in their house, where she conducted a small school. Later she purchased 1806 South Road across the way; and here, with improved facilities she enlarged her school and taught many of the girls and boys of Mt. Washington. She subsequently moved to Baltimore and took over the management of the Albion Hotel, which she conducted successfully for many years.

Continuing out South Road and passing South Bend we come upon a development in Mt. Washington taking place in the years immediately following the first World War. At that time the Skinner property, known as "Rose Hill," included between South Road, South Bend, Rogers Avenue and Wexford Road, was subdivided and sold by a real estate company. The original mansion with sufficient ground around it was purchased intact by Mr. and Mrs. Bradley Hays, who have since then made it their home. Immediately opposite the Rose Hill tract, on the south side of Rogers Avenue, St. Paul's School for Boys was established in 1923, and has grown into a flourishing institution. And just west of St. Paul's School was erected on the Bruce estate in 1931 the Methodist Home for the Aged.

It was in the year 1884 that Mr. Edward L. Gernand came to live on Maynard Avenue, Dixon Hill. In the following years he showed himself a practical man and a public spirited citizen. He was a vestryman of St. John's Episcopal Church.

Not long after he became a resident he began to agitate the need of a public water supply. Some years later he built for sale two houses and to furnish adequately these and his own residence with water, he bored a very deep well. Certain of his neighbors, realizing the opportunity that was presented, asked him to extend his mains to their houses. Others followed with like request, and it so came about that in time Mr. Gernand was the owner of a local distribution system, and supplied water to households at a charge of forty dollars per annum. The rate was high, but residents were glad to pay for the convenience.

In November, 1885, Mr. Gernand began the publication of a monthly periodical entitled *The Advocate*. It soon grew from four pages to twelve pages and was continued until November, 1894,

except for a suspension of three years from 1890 to 1893, when Mr. Gernand was absent from Mt. Washington. During the final year of publication the editorship, at Mr. Gernand's request, was assumed by the Lend-a-Hand Club, a woman's organization. The editors, who contributed to filling up the text of the monthly numbers, were Mrs. John T. Graham, Mrs. Charles W. Lord, Mrs. John D. Early, Miss M. M. Piggott and Miss M. A. Klein.

The *Advocate* soon made a place for itself, and its issues were awaited with expectation in the community. Local news was given in detail, there was comment on the affairs of the nation, and there were articles on art, poetry and general literature.

It was in the year 1883 that certain public-spirited gentlemen, believing that the community should possess a social center more adequate to its needs than Saffell Hall, organized the Mt. Washington Hall Association and called for subscriptions of stock at $50 per share for the erection of a building. The list of organizers and subscribers included the names of such representative citizens as J. Harmanus Fisher, John M. Carter, E. J. Penniman, Rossiter S. Scott, William T. Thelin, Dr. J. S. Bowen, William Whitelock, H. W. Huntemiller, and Perley R. Lovejoy. The cornerstone of the proposed building, the present Casino, was laid in 1883, and a year later the edifice was completed and formally opened.

Mt. Washington now entered upon a period of increased social activity. Like Saffell Hall that preceded it, the Casino was available for meetings of every sort; there was a Fourth of July celebration long to be remembered in July of 1894, when the "Breadwinners" were in evidence and Lawrence B. Kemp was Master of Ceremonies. The dances were noteworthy since they attracted residents from outlying neighborhoods. From Pikesville came the Cooks and the Harrisons, the latter a numerous family dwelling on their estate of "Annandale," now Druid Ridge Cemetery. From Green Spring Valley came the Cradocks, the Stumps, the Rogers and the Cockeys. "When I danced with Will Cockey," said to the writer a lady who remembered vividly these earlier days, "I never saw higher than the second button of his shirt front, he being six feet four and I five feet, three."

Later on a contingent from the city was attracted to the Mt. Washington dances and began to attend. Formal and stately affairs were these dances—not at all conceived after the hurly-burly manner of to-day. The women were habited in evening gowns, and dress suits and white gloves were required on the part of the

men. The dancers glided over the floor, not to the discord of an orchestra of loud bassoons and shrieking horns, but to the harmony of waltzes played by the incomparable pianist, John Blank; who was in constant demand for such events, and whose accentuation of time was perfect. The strains of "Home Sweet Home" sounded shortly after twelve o'clock, since the last train for Baltimore left the station at twelve-thirty; and Blank usually caught it at the end of a mad rush, and by the skin of his teeth.

The dramatic art was also in favor and, in addition to the dances, two theatrical performances were usually scheduled for each winter season. Messrs. Jack Carter, John Cummings of Melvale, Eustace Shaw, John Gibbs, E. J. Penniman and his son, Arthur Penniman, were prominent as actors; as were also as actresses the Misses Reba and Marie Thelin, Florence Ensor, and Daisy Dunn, the last of whom took part afterwards among the Vagabond Players.

Notwithstanding its many social successes, the Mt. Washington Hall Association found it difficult in the end to meet expenses of maintaining the Casino; and, about 1896, gave place to the Lend-a-Hand Club, which assumed responsibility.

The Lend-a-Hand Club was a national woman's organization that owed its inception in 1872 to Edward Everett Hale, and had for its object the extending of assistance in many needed directions; but especially was it interested in supplying inspiration and opportunity to the votaries of art, music and literature. The first president of its Mt. Washington Chapter, organized in 1888, was Mrs. John T. Graham, who was actively supported by Mrs. John M. Carter and Mrs. William Matthai. For the encouragement of the artists of Baltimore, the Artists' Fete, on the first Saturday in May, was established as an annual function. Young artists especially from the Charcoal Club and the Maryland Institute, were invited to submit sketches and compete for prizes. The aspirants reported at the Casino at nine o'clock in the morning of the appointed day, and immediately scattered among the picturesque hills of the neighborhood to select their subjects and complete their sketches. These must be presented at the Casino at 12 o'clock; and, after another hour, giving opportunity for preparation, luncheon was served. In anticipation of the event the Casino had been transformed within into a bower of loveliness; and, including the artists and their friends, as many as 150 persons were sometimes present. In the meantime the sketches had been examined by the appointed

judges; and, after luncheon, the prizes were awarded. Prof. Edward Whiteman of the Terraces officiated as one of the judges, assisted by Thomas Corner, the portrait-painter, and Carrell Lucas of the Charcoal Club.

A month after the Artists' Fete, on the first Saturday in June, came the Rose Fete, when the Casino again blossomed into a floral paradise. At the Rose Fete of 1898, the 26th anniversary of the National Lend-a-Hand Club, Edward Everett Hale was the guest of honor and made the address, and Cardinal Gibbons sat on the stage. On another occasion the two distinguished women, Clara Barton and Julia Ward Howe, were guests and the latter read selections from her poems.

In the autumn came the Feast of Harvest Home and, in the winter, Yuletide and Twelfth Night were observed with appropriate ceremonies.

The Lend-a-Hand Club was in active control of the Casino for the twelve years from 1896 to 1908 and, during part of this period, was assisted in its activities by a men's organization bearing the enigmatical title " F. F. F." Dances and evening entertainments were arranged by the men, as an adjunct to the seasonal celebrations conducted by the women. No satisfying explanation has ever been given of the meaning of the challenging letters; " Forty First Families " is recognized as only a guess, and the title was intended to be mystifying. It denoted a secret society and the initiation ceremonies were correspondingly terrible. They were held principally in the barn of Omar F. Hershey, the first president. In the roof was a hay-loft which communicated by a vertical drop with the basement, underneath the carriage house on the first floor. Applicants, blindfolded, were confined in the stalls of the basement in charge of an examining committee, while in an adjoining stall, a large St. Bernard dog bayed continuously. Upon signifying his consent to be bound by the rules of the organization, each neophyte was girded under the arms with a stout strap attached to a rope, and by means of a pulley in the roof, was drawn up into the hay-loft and was lowered thence to the floor of the carriage rouse. Here the bandage was finally removed from his eyes and, if he had survived the shock of the ordeal, he was welcomed with acclamation as a brother by the assembled members.

The organization of the F. F. F. was simple and frankly autocratic. At a certain meeting of the directors the president, Mr. Hershey, announced certain radical administrative measures. " By

what authority have you acted?" inquired a director. "My own; the boss says so," responded the president; and was not further questioned.

The Lend-a-Hand Club and the F. F. F. were merged in 1908 into the Little F. F. F. in which the women furnished the leadership and were in control of the Casino until 1916.

The Woman's Club of Mt. Washington was organized in 1914 and, although it holds its meetings in the parish hall of St. John's Church and is not concerned with the maintenance of the Casino, yet, since its aim is to promote the cultural interests of Mt. Washington, it is the legitimate successor of the former Lend-a-Hand Club.

The Baltimore Cricket Club was organized as far back as 1874 and secured as its playing field the land south of the present viaduct into Mt. Washington, and included between Jones Falls and the railroad. The prime movers in the enterprise were Tunstall Smith and John E. Carey; and associated with them were J. Harry Lee, first president of the Club, Dr. James Howard, Innes Randolph, Howard and Otho Ridgely, Dr. Randolph Winslow, Dr. Louis McLean Tiffany, William Marston, head of Marston's School, Jesse Tyson and others. Among the large number of players who came later may be named as representative, Jack Glenn, Herbert Brune, Allan and Robert McLane, Tagart Steele, Sam Lippincott, Brooke Hopkins and Mt. Washington's three players, Wallace Whitelock, Howard Cole and George Chipman.

Accommodation for the players was at first afforded by what was scarcely more than an enclosed shed, but in 1887 a clubhouse was completed providing ample facilities. In the eighties and nineties the Club grew and prospered and the game was in full swing. Cricket flourished in Philadelphia, the inhabitants having learned it during the Revolution from the English army of occupation; and matches were arranged with the numerous Philadelphia Clubs—Germantown, Merion, Belmont and Haverford. Preponderance of skill was naturally with Philadelphia, but nevertheless an occasional victory was scored by the Mt. Washington players.

In the middle eighties tennis was introduced into the Club and the ten or more courts marked out were soon alive with players. This was a game in which the women could take part and they responded in increasing numbers. Prominent players were Omar F. Hershey, John S. Ensor, Yates Pennington, Hamilton Browne,

Leigh Bonsal, Charles Morris Howard, Norman James, Hanson Thomas, Bob Chamberlaine and A. H. S. Post, better known as "Hampy" Post. "Hampy" not only defeated all competitors at the Club, but won the state championship. He held this for a number of years and retired undefeated. The Rev. Maltbie Babcock was frequently to be seen on the courts with Harry Smith, a member of his church. Champions among the women were Eleanor Latrobe and Jeannie Bonsal, who afterwards married Miles White.

In later years lacrosse became a leading feature in the Club, and the Mt. Washington Lacrosse Team has become famous by its victories over the teams of the Colleges.

For a number of years preceding the year 1916 a civic organization known as the Mt. Washington Neighborhood Association, had functioned through an administrative triumvirate of which the principals were the leading citizens John M. Carter, Thomas J. Shryock and Samuel B. Sexton. A voluntary payment of eighteen cents per $100 of assessed real estate values was contributed by each property owner, and the fund thus provided was expended in paving gutters, surfacing roads and removal of snow in the winter months. The Mt. Washington Community Association was organized in 1916 and absorbed this Neighborhood Association, and also took over the Casino and the club-house and grounds of the former Baltimore Cricket Club.

Notwithstanding its wide extension and development, Mt. Washington preserves essentially the character of a big village. The churches are friendly in their attitude one toward another, and on Thanksgiving Day of each year the four Protestant churches join in a union service. Within the lines of the original Mt. Washington, as defined in these pages, it may almost be said that everybody knows everybody else. But it is the Casino that, under successive management by the Mt. Washington Hall Association, the Lend-a-Hand Club, the F. F. F., the Little F. F. F. and, finally, by the Mt. Washington Community Association, has supplied a center for all social and civic activities and, aided by the athletic activities of the Club, has been the dominant factor in drawing the community together. Under capable and interested leaders the Community Association continues to-day. May it long so continue!

A LIST OF CONVICTS TRANSPORTED TO MARYLAND

By FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

A list of one hundred fifteen convicts and felons transported by Andrew Reid [1] in 1740, a recent anonymous gift to the library of the Maryland Historical Society, is a document exceedingly rich in social and economic history. It sheds much light on the labor conditions of the eighteenth century when land, on the one hand, was plentiful, while labor, on the other, was notoriously scarce. One of the cheapest and most profitable methods to build up great estates and tremendous fortunes, therefore, was to import labor, white indentured servants in particular.[2]

Maryland received more convicts and felons than any other province in the eighteenth century.[3] Lodge and other writers maintain that Maryland received a greater proportion of convicts than any other province.[4] Scharf estimates that the total number of criminals sent to Maryland was about 20,000, with over six hundred a year coming in between the years 1737 and 1767.[5] In all probability, the majority of those so transported were not political offenders.[6] Clearly, then, Maryland became a dumping ground for the objectionable subjects of the realm.

Most of these " seven-year " criminals were the ordinary criminals of the British Isles. Those transported included both men and women of all ages and descriptions. Their crimes ranged from merely stealing a loaf of bread to armed robbery. The more serious offenders were not transported but were executed

[1] The contractor for the transportation of Newgate felons from April, 1739, to March, 1757. Abbot Smith, *Colonists in Bondage* (Chapel Hill, 1947), p. 114.

[2] See Basil Sollers, " Transported Convict Laborers in Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, II (1907), 17-47.

[3] Eugene I. McCormac, " White Servitude in Maryland, 1634-1820," *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, XXII, Nos. 3-4 (1904), 98.

[4] James Butler, " British Convicts Shipped to American Colonies," *American Historical Review*, II (October, 1896), 19; Henry Cabot Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America.* (Boston, 1882), pp. 124-125.

[5] John Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland*, I (Baltimore, 1879), 371-372.

[6] Butler, *op. cit.*, 16.

shortly after their sentences were imposed. The Act of 1718 provided that persons who had been convicted of clergyable offenses such as burglary, robbery, perjury, or theft, be sent to America for seven years. James Went, for instance, one of those on the list, was guilty of robbing a house,[7] while John Wells,[8] William Snowd, and William Cardell, were charged with highway robbery.[9] Jarvis Hare, a mere lad of fourteen years, was sentenced for stealing a horse,[10] while Thomas Henning enlisted a man for the King of Prussia.[11] Sarah Kingman picked a pocket.[12] Thus, the British Government perceived the great need for " servants " who might improve the colonial plantations and at the same time make themselves more useful to His Majesty.

These felons and convicts frequently had to undergo great hardships before departing from England. Often they languished in the jails of the British Isles for long periods. Some of those on the following list had been confined in Newgate Prison for as much as nine months. James Went's sentence had been passed, for instance, in June, 1739, while Snowd and Wells were condemned in January, 1740.

Sheriffs were not allowed to deliver criminals to the transporters without license. The transporters themselves in turn had to give security that the felons would not return to England until their terms of banishment had expired. The captain of the ship had to swear that the people to be transported were received on board and would be effectually and immediately transported to America. This security had to be certified by a public official. Hence, Andrew Reid received a certificate of receipt from Anthony Bacon and Reid's oath in turn had to be certified by the Clerk of the Gaol Delivery for Middlesex County.

Because of the great demand for indentured servants, many of the transporters made tremendous wealth. Captain Anthony Bacon was but one of those who chose to earn his living in this manner. He appears to have been well-known to Marylanders, especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century as the owner of a prominent firm. Charles Carroll, Barrister, makes frequent

[7] *Gentleman's Magazine*, IX (June, 1739), 325.
[8] *Ibid.*, X (January, 1740), 34.
[9] *Ibid.*, IX (September, 1739), 404.
[10] *Ibid.*, IX (June, 1739), 325.
[11] *Ibid.*, IX (October, 1739), 551.
[12] *Ibid.*, IX (July, 1739), 383.

references to conducting business with the house of Bacon.[13] The Bordley Papers in the Society's library contain many records of Bacon's business transactions.

Marylanders tolerated the shipment of convicts simply because they had to. They protested the intrusion of convicts, but were unable to do much about it.[14] They imposed a duty on the numbers of convicts brought in and not infrequently kidnapped them and spirited them away. The planter class appears to have been the only group which from the first favored the importation of convict labor. This group did, however, resent the King's making Maryland the dumping ground for his objectionable subjects, but were influential in forcing the passage of the 1728 Maryland law which, among other things, made compulsory written testimonials from each shipmaster as to the offense, the sentence, and the time each convict had to serve.[15] Eventually, the agitation against convict labor became so great that the British Government were forced to look elsewhere for the site of a penal colony. This eventually became Botany Bay, Australia.

As previously suggested, the names of those to be transported were chronicled in the British journals. *The Historical Register* faithfully listed for many years the numbers of those to be transported, but none of those on the ship *York* could be traced through this journal. *The Gentleman's Magazine* also chronicled the names of those condemned, but usually these entries were in the briefest possible form. Those to be transported seldom appeared in the latter journal, but their offenses were usually listed with a remark such as " condemned and ordered to be transported four men and three women."

The list follows.

Blackwall March 22nd 1739/40.

A List of One Hundred and Fifteen Felons & Convicts Shipped from Newgate by Andrew Reid Esqr on board the York Capt Anthony Bacon Commander, bound for Maryland, vizt:

1 James Wood
2 Richard Merring
3 Myers Samuel
4 Elizabeth Ward
5 Mary Wood
6 Daniel Sullivan
7 James Evans
8 Ann (Johanna) Price

[13] See particularly articles which appeared in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIII (1938), " Letters of Charles Carroll, Barrister."
[14] *Archives of Maryland*, II, 540-541.
[15] *Laws of Maryland*, 1728 Session, Chapter XXIII.

9 Thomas Watson
10 Richard Land
11 James Meredith
12 James Stuart
13 Elizabeth Jackson
14 Richard Mackloud
15 Benjamin Dunkersly
16 John Plummer
17 Thomas Ward
18 Thomas Deane
19 Ephraim Hubbard
20 John Cooke
21 Sarah Stanley
22 William Turner
23 Richard Underwood
24 William Maxwell
25 John Anderson
26 Cesar Franklin
27 John Brown
28 James Eakins
29 John Warren
30 John Myers
31 Mary Johnson
32 Samuel Peartree
33 Lucy Hughes
34 John Irving
35 Jacob Edmunds
36 James Bartley
37 Michael Smith
38 William Jones
39 Thomas Henning
40 William Cardell
41 Jarvis Hare
42 James Went
43 Sarah Kingman
44 Sarah Sumners
45 Margaret Betts
46 William Burchmore
47 John Hastings
48 William Green
49 John Matthews
50 Sarah Withers
51 John Morgan
52 Mary Hardcastle
53 Francis Smith
54 John Deacon
55 Sarah Jones
56 Samuel Powell
57 William Stewart
58 Mary Castle
59 John Delane
60 John Duggen
61 Ann Groom
62 Elizabeth Price
63 Diana Cole
64 Elizabeth Fowles
65 James Brockwell
66 John Tizzard
67 Elizabeth Green
68 Alice Faulkner
69 John Patterson
70 Moses Beesely
71 Ann Stringer
72 William Shaw
73 Sarah Liddiard
74 Joshua Blackett
75 Henry Chapman
76 James Downes
77 Isaac Gaytes
78 Arnold Reynolds
79 Rebecca Peake
80 John Smith
81 John Mitchell
82 James Anderson
83 Hannah Thompson
84 William Graves
85 William Brown
86 Ann Wilson
87 Thomas Davis
88 James Stiles
89 John Patterson
90 William Berry
91 John Claxton
92 Charles Groom
93 Elianor Bolton
94 Elizabeth Smith
95 Martha Abbott
96 Margaret Ellis
97 Thomas Winter
98 John Wicks
99 Edward Groves
100 William Peake
101 John Blake
102 Marmaduke Bignoll
103 Richard Ford
104 Ann Williams

105 William Seale
106 Thomas Street
107 Francis Flack
108 Mary Heckman
109 Benjamin Bellgrove (Dead)
110 John Potter
111 William Kipps
112 Mary Elliott
113 George Vaughan
114 William Snowd
115 Joseph Wells

Blackwall March 22d 1739/40.

I Anthony Bacon Master of the Ship York, now lying in the River of Thames & bound for Maryland in America do hereby humbly certify that the above named Persons being in Number One Hundred & Fifteen were this day all received on board my said Ship (except Benjamin Bellgrove who died in Newgate) by the Order of Andrew Reid Esqr. to be immediately & effectually transported to Maryland, one of His Majesty's Plantations in America, pursuant to the Acts of Parliament for that purpose made & provided.

Antho: Bacon

Witness
Jno Nicholls
John Davis

London I do hereby humbly certify that Andrew Reid of London Merchant hath given Security for the effectual Transportation of the Forty Three Felons first above named pursuant to the Orders of the Court of Goal Delivery of Newgate holden for the City of London at Justice Hall in the Old Bailey in the Suburbs of the same City on Wednesday the 16th day of January and Wednesday the Twenty Seventh day of February last past, which Security remains now in my hands. Dated the Third Day of April 1740.

Man [16]

(REVERSE)

Middx I do hereby humbly Certify that Andrew Reid of London Merchant hath given Security for the Effectual Transportation of the within last named Seventy two Felons pursuant to the orders of the Court of Gaole Delivery of Newgate holden for the County of Middx at Justicehall in the Old Bailey in the Suburbs of the City of London on Wednesday the 16th Day of January and Wednesday the 27th Day of February last past which Security remains now in my hands and that the within named Benjamin Bellgrove died in Newgate since the giving the said Security. Dated the 3rd Day of April 1740.

John Matthews Clerk of the Gaole Delivery
of Newgate for the County of Middx

[16] Man is unidentified, but is believed to be a minor official.

The mere presence of a name on the list does not mean that these criminals remained in Maryland. Many of them returned to England after their terms of banishment had expired. Without making extensive genealogical investigation, few traces of the one hundred fifteen could be found. In all probability, the stigma attached to the term convict caused many of them to change their names or to migrate to other provinces. At any rate, present day Marylanders need not be disturbed. If any on this list of convicts remained, they probably became, after a term of seven years with exacting masters, self-respecting, and possibly industrious and prosperous citizens.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

Archives of Maryland, LXII. Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, 1769-1770. [Assembly series, vol. 30.]. Edited by RAPHAEL SEMMES. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1945. xliii, 502 pp. $3.00.

The text of this volume (pp. 3-453) was printed from photostats of the original manuscript records which are preserved in the Hall of Records at Annapolis. There is a scholarly introduction (pp. xv-xliii) by the Editor, an appendix, and a comprehensive index. The type is clear and readable.

The Assembly, whose proceedings are the subject of this volume of the *Archives*, had been elected in 1767 and its first session was held in May and June, 1768, during the term of Governor Horatio Sharpe. On June 6, 1769, Sir Robert Eden succeeded Governor Sharpe, and thereafter three more sessions of this Assembly were held, one in the autumn of 1769 and two in the autumn of 1770.

The introduction comprises a summary of the proceedings of the Assembly and a description of the general acts, local acts and private acts.

The appendix includes the Resolution of Non-Importation, adopted at Annapolis June 22, 1769. This resolution is an important document in Maryland history, and because it is difficult to obtain, it has been reprinted here for the convenience of historians and scholars. The appendix also contains various letters and vestry proceedings relating to the manner clergymen in colonial Maryland were transferred from one parish to another; a letter from Governor Botetourt of Virginia to Governor Eden urging Maryland to join Virginia in erecting and supporting a light house on Cape Henry because of the many vessels stranded at the capes; and other interesting documents.

While the Archives are of more particular interest to historians, this volume is full of material of general interest. At least three instances are worthy of note. (1) When the Assembly met on November 17, 1769 Governor Eden delivered the message of the Lord Proprietary, Frederick Calvert, which was addressed to both the Upper and Lower houses. In his message Lord Baltimore praised the last governor, Horatio Sharpe, for his many years of faithful service. The message then stated of the new governor: "Mr. Eden is, I acknowledge, my brother-in-law, and endeared to me by the nearest Tyes of Affinity, Friendship and Affection, but, could I distrust his Abilities or Inclinations to make you a happy People he is the last person to whom I would have Delegated my Authority." (2) The

subject of " relief " while generally regarded as a development of modern times was also a matter for legislative consideration in colonial Maryland. A private act was passed in 1769 for the financial relief of a woman for the loss of a slave who committed suicide while in jail awaiting trial on the charge of burglary and a number of acts were passed for the relief of prisoners for debt—three of whom were women. (3) The relations of Governor Eden with the Lower House of the Assembly, during the first part of his term, were friendly as is shown by an act passed at the November—December session, 1769, which authorized the payment of $800.00 to Governor Eden which his Excellency was requested, by the Assembly, to accept as " an instance of their regard and respect for him." This cordial relationship was ended however in October, 1770, when the report of the Committee on Grievances and Courts of Justice charged that William Steuart, as clerk of the Land Office had charged excessive fees. Steuart claimed that as the fees had been authorized by the judges of the Land Office their collection was not illegal. The delegates contended, on the other hand, that they had the sole right to fix taxes, or fees, with the assent of the Upper House, and accordingly, the Sergeant at Arms, by order of the Lower House, arrested Steuart and committed him to jail. On the following day, Friday, November 2, 1770, Governor Eden prorogued the Assembly to meet on Monday, November 5th, thus bringing about the release of Steuart. The delegates insisted on their right to imprison for contempt and the Governor once more prorogued the Assembly. This controversy was not resolved until the American Revolution and was merely an illustration of the struggle for power between the elected representatives of the people and the executive which was then taking place in all the colonies.

Volume LXII of the Maryland Archives, edited by Dr. Raphael Semmes, maintains the high standard of excellence established by previous editors.

ROGER B. WILLIAMS

American Painting—First Flowers of Our Wilderness. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947. 368 pp. 162 illus. $10.00.

This work is a contribution of prime value to our understanding of the first hundred years of American painting and of the unfolding Colonial culture as it is reflected in pictorial form. Previous accounts of the first seventy-five years of American painting, beginning with the earliest New England examples of the 1670's are for the most part special studies and little known except to students. Mr. Flexner has assembled the scattered data covering the period up to Copley's departure for London in 1774 and woven it into a clarifying essay which should serve as a broadly illuminating lamp for everyone interested in our cultural past. This first volume of a projected series dealing with the relationships between life

in America and the tradition of American painting augurs well for the volumes to come.

As in life, so in art: Colonial customs and outlook developed as offshoots of European traditions. The protagonists in the drama of early American painting were the realism arising from the native preoccupation with fact and the classical tradition of the Renaissance, as represented by the provincial imitations of the international court style which had been established in England by van Dyck and carried on by Sir Peter Lely and Sir Godfrey Kneller. Our early painters were artisans of the lower and middle classes belonging to a provincial society and their social and geographic isolation cut them off from contact with the creative centers of European art. The analogies of our self-taught craftmen-painters lie not with the 'name painters' but with the provincial artisans of the Old World, the mass of whose works have largely vanished, like numberless examples of our own, or remain hidden away in homes, local shops and museum storerooms.

The early Boston limners of portraits, like all beginners, depicted their subjects in flat patterns of simple outlines enclosing local colors, and Mr. Flexner rightly emphasizes the inevitability of such a first 'medieval' step, regardless of whatever may have survived in the Colonies of the late medieval forms of provincial Elizabethan portraiture. The court style appeared in Boston about 1675 side by side with the 'primitive' manner, whose increasing realism reached its climax in the portrait of hundred-year-old Ann Pollard of 1721. The many Dutch paintings which were imported to New Amsterdam apparently went unvalued, and so rather summarily disappeared, after the English took over the city and named it New York in 1664. The technical competence of these imported pictures disappeared with them, but their realism was akin to that of the local outlook. In the hands of the Patroon Painters of the Hudson River Valley a stark and abbreviated sort of realism tinged with a note of lyrical innocence combined in the 1720's with the symbols of the court style introduced by the English to effect a compromise which Mr. Flexner honors as the first authentic flowering of the American spirit in painting. This process of compromise resulting from the mixed desire of the rising American middle class to see itself portrayed with convincing reality and in the ennobled fashion of English aristocrats forms the devious road along which early American painters unconsciously struggled toward that mastery of bourgeois realism which culminated in the great achievement of John Singleton Copley. The several stages (through Smibert and Feke, and West and Charles Willson Peale before they went abroad, and many others) and the regional variations (in Virginia, Maryland and South Carolina) of this mixing of tradition and improvisation are reported with fine objectivity and evaluated with acute discrimination in *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*.

So few paintings other than portraits have survived that it has become almost a fixed idea that Colonial society took no interest in the portrayal of the life and scenes around it. The documentary evidence brought together by Mr. Flexner reveals that in the Colonies, as in Europe, painting was in fact practiced in "all its branches": cities, harbors and "all kinds

of landscape," fox hunting and stag parties, fruits, flowers and designs for coaches, signs and fire boards. Exceptions to the American repertory until after the Revolution were historical painting of contemporary events, which was considered unworthy of representation, and religious painting (save for a few instances such as Gustavus Hesselius), which was under taboo as "Popish."

By bringing into context reference to the other arts—architecture, sculpture, furniture design, home decoration (regarding which the myth of Puritan drabness is dispelled), music and literature—Mr. Flexner has given a comprehensive and evocative view of the various aspects of Colonial culture and of the character of the people who produced it. The account is made the more informative and substantial by an appendix well stocked with notes and by a full, critical bibliography. The illustrations are generous in number and those in black and white adequate in quality, but the eight plates in color are mediocre as reproductions of oil paintings. A thorough index adds much to the usefulness of the work.

EDWARD S. KING.

The Walters Art Gallery.

Calendar of Maryland State Papers: No. 2, The Bank Stock Papers. Publications of The Hall of Records Commission No. 5. Annapolis: The Commission, 1947. xlvii, 68 pp.

Students of Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary America will welcome the publication by the Maryland Hall of Records Commission of this calendar of papers which throws much additional light on a little known but highly interesting subject. Several monographs have treated cursorily of the "bank stock controversy" but until the appearance of this volume there has been available no complete, authoritative and inclusive account of this complex and intricate story. Future scholars who may wish to explore the original documents pertaining to the controversy will find this calendar indispensable. Less specialized students will discover in Dr. Radoff's introductory summary a thorough and reliable survey of all the salient facts surrounding the case.

At the outbreak of the Revolution, the Province of Maryland had title to £29,000 of stock in the Bank of England which had been purchased to provide a sinking fund for several issues of colonial paper money. Control over the stock had been vested in the hands of three English merchants, and after the termination of hostilities these trustees refused to surrender possession to the new state government. Their argument was that Maryland's claim to the funds had been forfeited because of her confiscation of British property during the Revolution. The State, of course, denied this contention and dispatched Samuel Chase to London to recover the stock. The objections of sundry adverse claimants, including Henry Harford, natural son of the last Lord Baltimore, brought the case into

Chancery where it rested until 1803 in spite of the efforts of Chase and his successor William Pinkney. The final decision of the Lord Chancellor vested title to the stock in the Crown as the lawful successor to the defunct Provincial government. His Majesty's Government then saw fit to transfer ownership to Maryland and at long last the State received the sum of about $650,000.

This story not only throws interesting light on the financial and diplomatic history of the early American Republic, but also goes a long way toward explaining Maryland's rather unique position in respect to British creditors after the Revolution. While neighboring Virginia harassed and obstructed British creditors intent on the collection of pre-war debts, Maryland's legislature explicitly ratified the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain and removed all barriers to the lawful recovery of these obligations. The reason is now clear. As the documents calendared in this publication show, this act was merely insurance to guarantee the State's collection of its bank stock. The effect of this decision was far reaching. It helps to explain, among other things, Maryland's fairly easy acceptance of the Federal Constitution which many Virginians opposed on the sensible grounds that the new Federal courts would enforce the peace-treaty stipulations regarding British debts.

Professional historians have too long overlooked the possibilities of the documentary calendar as a device for presenting unpublished materials. Traditional emphasis on the doctoral dissertation has obscured the fact that there are other ways of bringing new data to the attention of the scholarly public. Dr. Radoff's admirable job on these papers ought to convince many that for economy, brevity and clarity this type of publication is unbeatable. An excellent index, a brief biographical summary of the principals involved in the case and a cross-reference key to the original documents add considerably to its usefulness.

PHILIP A. CROWL

Princeton University.

The South Old and New, A History 1820-1947. By FRANCIS BUTLER SIMKINS. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1947. xvi, 527, xx pp. *$6.00.*

Professor Simkins' book is a satisfactory general and comprehensive history of the South as a section, and as such it provides a study long desired by both teachers and students of southern history. It traces developments in the South from 1820 to 1947 in a manner that creates a clear understanding of how this section became " conscious of its identity." The work not only describes the political and economic development of the South but also its literature, education, religion, social classes, fine arts, and racial relations.

The author combines objectivity with candor, and nowhere does he

manifest these qualities more than in his treatment of Reconstruction in the South. He sets aside the prejudices and rumors of this period to show that the Negro was a "dupe rather than a scoundrel" in these years, and that it was an "era of unhealthy politics which called forth the evil in men that under happier conditions would have been suppressed." But he urges that Reconstruction be not studied as an isolated evil. If it was a period of corruption in the South, this was also true of the same period in the North.

Treating the status of the Negro since 1865, Professor Simkins shows the same frankness and impartiality. He doubts whether "Negro progress has outweighed Negro retrogression," and he believes that the colored man will have to remain "a mere beggar for favors." As for the attainment of the status of a respected American citizen, Professor Simkins maintains that the black man will have to develop more self-assertion and self-reliance.

The nonprofessional reader ought to be able to derive immense profit from the book. The illustrations are few but good, and there is an excellent bibliography which attests to the industry of the author and which will be appreciated by all serious students of the history of the South.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS

The Johns Hopkins University.

The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877. By SISTER M. HILDEGARDE YEAGER, C. S. C. Washington, D. C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1947. xi, 512 pp. $4.50 (paper).

This excellent dissertation is the thirty-sixth to appear in the series on American Church History sponsored by the Catholic University. Ably and scholarly directed by the late Msgr. Peter Guilday, the series is now under the competent direction of the Rev. John Ellis.

By virtue of his character and his office Archbishop Bayley occupied a prominent place in the Catholic Church of his day. He was a descendant of well known colonial families: the Roosevelts, the Barclays, and the Le Contes. He was a nephew of Mother Seton. Except for John Carroll's, there has been no more distinguished lineage in the native American hierarchy than Bayley's. Born in New York in 1814, educated at Amherst and Trinity in Hartford, young Bayley first thought of becoming a doctor. Family influence and his own bent turned him to the Episcopal ministry in which he served as zealous rector of St. Andrew's in Harlem. The Tractarian and Oxford movements, however, unsettled his convictions; and during a visit to Rome in 1842, James Bayley became a Catholic. Desiring to become a priest, he was sent to study at St. Sulpice in Paris for a year and shortly afterwards was ordained by Bishop John Hughes for

the Diocese of New York. There he served in various capacities for nine years.

Raised to the episcopate in 1853, James Bayley became the first Bishop of Newark. Overwhelming problems faced the young bishop: the new diocese had to be organized; his people were mostly poor immigrants; there was a lack of priests, schools, and churches; there was the Know-Nothing movement. All of these problems proved his mettle; and, when Archbishop Spalding died in 1872, Bishop Bayley was promoted to the see of Baltimore.

This was not a congenial change for an aging man. Although his aunt, Mary Roosevelt, wrote, "You will be placed where you will enjoy refinement and culture," Archbishop Bayley missed Newark with its old and intimate associations. Advancing age and recurring illness rendered him less and less active although amongst other accomplishments he convened the eighth synod for his clergy and consecrated the Cathedral. He died in 1877.

This volume is a dissertation and suffers from its nature, more emphasis being placed on scholarship than on literary style. Through a great part of the book the Archbishop speaks for himself through his *Diary*, *Journal*, and *Memorandum Book*. The author's conclusion is justified: his was "an interesting but not an extraordinary life," and his claim to fame rests chiefly on his able work in organizing the Diocese of Newark. The work is well-rounded through a thorough use of archival sources, printed sources, and newspapers. The price of the paper-bound book is high, but Archbishop Bayley's life need not be written again.

JOHN J. TIERNEY, S. S.

St. Charles College
Catonsville, Md.

The Selected Writings of Benjamin Rush. Edited by DAGOBERT D. RUNES. New York: Philosophical Library, [1947]. 433 pp. $5.00.

Dr. Benjamin Rush was many things—physician, teacher, signer of the Declaration, college founder, reformer, pamphleteer, lay religionist, socially conscious citizen at all times. He was not, obviously, a simple person. Even now biographers hesitate to take him on, and people argued about him hotly during his lifetime. He was, everybody conceded, full of ideas. And many of the ideas were brilliant. But some were terrible, too. Over-enthusiastic, impetuous, self-contradictory, Doctor Rush was, as he said every student should be, "always . . . in an absorbing state." Every new interest inspired an essay—dashed off before the subject was fully clarified in his own mind, and rushed to the printer without, one must suspect, always a rereading. It is possible to pick flaws in most of Rush's writings; it is also possible, as several students (not Mr. Runes) have shown, so to excerpt them that he emerges one of the great thinkers of all times. He was not that, of course, but he definitely had his points.

The writings collected in this book show Doctor Rush from many sides. They are about his various enthusiasms—education, government, the abolition of slavery and capital punishment, the Bible, and (first, last, and foremost) the theory and practise of medicine. That medicine was truly his profession the readers of his letters from Philadelphia, during the yellow fever of 1793, and of his famous "Duties of a Physician" lecture to a graduating class, can hardly doubt. Maybe he did rush in where angels feared to tread—treading sometimes on eminent doctors' toes. Maybe the Philadelphia cemeteries were, as Cobbett charged, full of corpses that he zealously bled white. Maybe he made mistakes, as doctors still do. But the first dispensary in America is to his credit, and occupational therapy, and the beginnings of modern psychoanalysis.

Readers of Mr. Runes' book will want to go beyond his brief editorial preface (which censors the Conway Cabal) for more about an exceptionally full, vivid life. They must also look up a serious omission, *Medical Inquiries and Observations upon Diseases of the Mind* (1812), the paper on which Rush's professional fame chiefly rests. But they will find in this book an admirable cross-section, chosen well for pertinency and readability.

ELLEN HART SMITH

Frederick Parish, Virginia, 1744-1780. By EVERARD KIDDER MEADE, With Three Original Maps, by JOSIAH LOOK DICKINSON. Winchester, Va.: Pifer Printing Co., Inc., 1947. 70 pp.

The author, Mr. Meade, descends from Bishop William Meade, famous in the annals of the church in Virginia; whose father, Richard Kidder Meade of Washington's Staff, sold his estates to aid the cause of Independence.

Frederick Parish had no fine churches and chapels like those in the Tidewater Country so that time and decay alone were sufficient to account for the destruction of the original buildings. Nor was there a general decline in religion in Frederick Parish as happened elsewhere in Virginia after the Revoluton.

Frederick Parish was the first parish established west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. Its boundaries were the same as those of Frederick County, and included the area of the present Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Shenandoah, and a part of Page County in Virginia, and also Jefferson, Berkeley, Morgan, Hampshire, and Mineral Counties in West Virginia and parts of Hardy, Grant and Tucker Counties in West Virginia.

The first vestry book of the parish has long since disappeared and the difficulty of trying to piece out a history of the parish from such other records as can be found can only be appreciated by one whom experience has taught the chaotic condition of the Virginia records.

The parish had one church and seven chapels. The church was in Winchester and the chapels were Morgan's Chapel, located in what is now

Berkeley County, West Virginia, near Bunker Hill, Cunningham Chapel, i. e., the "old chapel" near Berryville now Clarke County, Virginia, McKay's Chapel located near the old stone dwelling of the McKays (the oldest building in that county) at Cedarville, Warren County, Virginia, Mecklenberg Chapel at what is now known as Shepherdstown, Jefferson County, West Virginia. In addition, there were three chapels in what is now Warren County, Virginia, on the branches of the Shenandoah River, namely the South River Chapel, the North River Chapel and the chapel at Ephraim Leith's Spring on the South Branch of the River. The sites of these three last named chapels have never been discovered. None of the original church or chapel buildings remain though the present Cunningham Chapel was erected in 1791.

It may have been McKay's Chapel or the lost chapel on the "North River" or the church at Winchester where Charles Buck, a member of the vestry of Frederick Parish, attended services. He was a large land owner who resided near where Passage Creek empties into the north branch of the Shenandoah River. His son, Captain Thomas Buck (1756-1842), writing about his childhood days, says: "I used to go to church with my father and mother but never understood the sermon." These references to the "church" and the "sermon" suggest that they attended services in Winchester.

Of the abilities and fitness of the ministers to occupy their ecclesiastical offices, no evidence is directly presented. Yet this history shows that the Reverends John Gordon and William Meldrum spent much of their time and effort in order to obtain decent payment for their services, that the latter was a chronic litigant and that the Rev. Benjamin Sebastian, who moved to Kentucky, was a venal and traitorous man. The Reverend Charles Mynn Thurston, though charged with neglect of duty, was a highly patriotic man who became a "fighting parson" and rose to the rank of colonel in the Revolutionary Army and is represented today in the Virginia Cincinnati. The author's comment "that there is no evidence to show that any of the four failed to discharge his ministerial duties conscientiously and acceptably," seems more favorable to the ministers than the account in the history warrants.

The churchmen in Frederick Parish had much to do with the revival of religion in Virginia after the Revolution and also with the establishment of the Virginia Theological Seminary.

Cunningham Chapel Parish, the present name of what is left of the original Frederick Parish, occupies only a part of Clarke County.

The author resides near Millwood and is a member of the church there. A recent disastrous fire completely destroyed the interior of that church and only its walls remain!

WALTER H. BUCK

Rehearsal for Conflict: The War With Mexico, 1846-1848. By ALFRED HOYT BILL. New York: Knopf, 1947. 342, x pp. $4.50.

Rehearsal for Conflict is a popularly written study of the Mexican War, its background, and its relationship to the Civil War, designed to acquaint the reader with a previously neglected era in American history. Mr. Bill presents a repudiation of the theory that the Mexican War was an aggressive one incited by those who favored the "Manifest Destiny" doctrine. The hero of the story is "Little Jimmy" Polk, the only President to achieve his campaign promises, The story is, consequently, an effort to restore him to his rightful place among the country's great leaders.

The author begins his tale with a description of the disastrous explosion aboard the *Princeton* in February, 1844. He follows this with an account of the social life in Washington during the Tyler and Polk administrations. All of this is interesting enough to read, but could either have been omitted entirely or considerably shortened. It has no place in the military study into which *Rehearsal for Conflict* develops.

Not until his third chapter does the author reach the opening skirmishes of the war. He portrays quite vividly the crooked politics in the American Army and all the less glamorous sides of an infantryman's existence. After reading Mr. Bill's penetrating reports, one wonders how the United States ever managed to win the war at all.

Maryland readers will be particularly interested in this book. The Baltimore Battalion played a prominent role in the war. This unit, one of the relatively few Eastern units to participate, was composed mainly of sailors, fishermen, and inhabitants of the back streets of Baltimore. They are said to have behaved themselves better than did most volunteer units. In addition, Major (later General) John R. Kenly wrote the *Memoirs of a Maryland Volunteer in the War with Mexico* which Mr. Bill has cited in his bibliography and which is the only account of Marylanders in that war.

In general, the book is well done. His interpretations of the military events are quite impartial. His bibliography is particularly useful. His title is suitable because the Mexican War was the rehearsal for the increased sectional bitterness in the decade to follow. It was also a period of practical training for many of the officers who later fought in the Civil War. Unfortunately, Mr. Bill does not interpret the war in the light of these two ideas. In addition, many scholars are unable to agree with his thesis that the Mexican War resulted from acts of unprovoked aggression. Nevertheless, the book is a pleasure to read, and should be read by those Americans who are ignorant as to the causes of some of the suspicions the Pan-American nations feel toward "the colussus of the North." In short, his book has done much to destroy the myth that the United States can do no wrong in her dealing with her neighbors.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

Maryland and Virginia Roundabout. By AGNES ROTHERY. Illustrated by George Gray. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1947. 203 pp. $2.75.

Authors and publishers who produce the juvenile non-fiction from which American young people learn something of our nation's development are duty bound to present accurate accounts of simple history. Both author and publisher of *Maryland and Virginia Roundabout* have shirked this responsibility.

Consisting of a series of sketches which bear little inter-relation, the book rests on a firm foundation of unsound research. No less than seven times, for example, the author refers to one "Lemuel" Calvert as Maryland's first Governor. Again, the author claims that, regardless of where they were built, all clipper ships were called Baltimore Clippers. She informs us, in addition, that the Baltimore College of Dental Surgery is a part of the University of Baltimore. Twice she emphasizes that President Jefferson did not negotiate the Louisiana Purchase until after the explorers Lewis and Clark had reported favorably upon the territory's worth. Moreover, in his picture map the illustrator presents the Dogwood as Maryland's State Flower and the Black-Eyed Susan as Virginia's. Such are only a few of the woeful errors which stud the pages of this book. None of them concern controversial issues; they are mis-statements, made by the author and accepted by the publisher, of simple, uncontested historical fact.

Too, the book abounds in evidence of careless workmanship. On page 32, for instance, the author states that Benjamin Henfry experimented with gas light in Baltimore in 1821; referring again to Henfry on page 81, the date becomes 1812. Neither is correct. Further carelessness is apparent in the author's use of the terms "Piscaway" and "Susquehanna" to designate two of early Maryland's Indian tribes. Worst of the author's many slips, perhaps, is her statement that the Roanoke expedition to Virginia occurred one hundred and twenty-three years before the settlement of Jamestown—a revelation to students of pre-Columbian American history. Such inaccuracies as these—and the list has been far from exhausted —should never have appeared; once made in manuscript, however, they should have been detected by even an indifferent proofreader.

One searches the book in vain for some outstanding, worthwhile feature. The author has a penchant for sweeping statements which land her in hot historical water. Her main attempt to impart a juvenile tone to her book is made by use of a cute and saccharine style; she is almost heedless of possible vocabulary difficulties for young readers and her structure lacks unity and coherence. So loose is her construction, for example, on page 4, that no matter how diligently one reads, one is forced to the impossible conclusion that the *Ark* and the *Dove* first made port in Maryland at Baltimore. Often on the same page and occasionally in the same paragraph, the author touches on several events whose chronological scope encompasses two or three hundred years. Confusion results.

Doubtless a need exists for supplementary juvenile readers in the field of Maryland and Virginia history; by a wide margin, however, this book fails to meet that need.

HAROLD RANDALL MANAKEE

The Negro in Mississippi, 1865-1890. By VERNON LANE WHARTON. (The James Sprunt Studies in History and Political Science, volume 28.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947. 289 pp.

In the space of less than 300 pages, Professor Wharton has undertaken to present the various aspects of the Negro problem in Mississippi during the three decades following 1860. As he states in the introduction to his monograph, the problem of how the two races, white and black, were to get along on terms satisfactory to the former and endurable to the latter, could not be solved, and therefore "a *modus vivendi* had to be found" (p. 5).

In an effort to explore every phase of the complex Negro problem, the author has presented a vast quantity of minutiae, in large part gleaned from a score of short articles dealing with the Negro and Reconstruction, but on the county level, and from a wide range of local newspapers. This mass of material, often of a statistical nature, is sometimes presented in clear tabular form. If this method of presentation had been followed throughout the monograph, the text would be more readable and the statistics more impressive. Examples of the need for tables are the figures of Negro deaths from disease (p. 53), county tax rates (pp. 170-171), and much of the material on Negro higher education (pp. 251-255).

Dr. Wharton's desire to cover all the ramifications of his topic, and still hold his monograph to reasonable length, has led to the slighting of the concluding chapters dealing with education, religion, and social life among the Mississippi Negroes. It would have been better either to have limited the scope of the work, perhaps to the material in the first fifteen chapters, or to have broadened and lengthened the entire study.

Attention is drawn by Dr. Wharton to the proposed replacement of free Negro labor on the Mississippi plantations with Chinese coolies who were to be contracted for with certain agents in San Francisco. Apparently this scheme never advanced beyond the stage of wishful thinking.

Dr. Wharton has presented a composite picture of the struggle of the Negro and white jockeying for economic and political position in post-bellum Mississippi. He has employed admirable restraint in his approach to the controversial racial issue and has succeeded in avoiding most of the pitfalls that lie in the path of those handling this problem. He has used liberal extracts from private correspondence, newspaper accounts, and public addresses; and the text is more than adequately fortified with footnote citations. His bibliography is extensive, although only partially annotated.

In sum, Dr. Wharton has made a definite contribution both to the local history of Mississippi and to the story of the southern Negro.

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

William Penn And Our Liberties. By WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT. Philadelphia: Penn Mutual Life Insurance Co., 1947. 146 pp.

This small volume, making the Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company's centennial, opens with the story of the Liberty Bell—the memorial to the fiftieth anniversary of Pennsylvania's final colonial charter, granted by William Penn in 1701. Its later association with the revolutionary tradition is of secondary importance. The author's aim is to show the influence of Penn on civil liberties, but he does more to show the influence of Quakerism on William Penn.

Largely a condensation of Comfort's earlier book, *William Penn, A Tercentenary Estimate*, this work places more emphasis on Penn's influence in the New World. Almost three-quarters of the book considers the factors which shaped Penn's character and activities—his birth into a high stratum of seventeenth century English society, his conversion to Quakerism, his physical hardihood, and his education. There are, in these pages, many implications as to the nature of Penn's contributions in the field of civil liberties. But perhaps the greatest values of the book are a better understanding of the Quakerism of that period and of the problems facing a Quaker forced to apply the principles of Quakerism in many areas of no concern to the average Friend of that age. The pages dealing with Penn's influence on American liberties show that the early charters of New Jersey and Pennsylvania included many of the great Friend's thoughts on religious toleration, fair treatment of the Indians, penal reform, and other matters of importance. The influence of Penn's plan for colonial union on the later Articles of Confederation is indicated. Perhaps more significant to the present day is the author's suggestion that following Penn's advice—"Let us then try what Love will do. . . ."—may lead to Freedom from Fear.

Comfort's statement on Pennsylvania's ratification of the Constitution (p. 95) takes no account of the manner in which acceptance was secured—a thing which would modify his implications. The footnotes would be more valuable if they followed the accepted form. But these minor errors are overshadowed by good points.

ROBERT C. DELK.

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

The Metropolitan Life: A Study in Business Growth. By MARQUIS JAMES. New York: Viking Press, 1947. 480 pp. $5.00.

In this work on America's largest private corporation Mr. James has deserted his usual fields, which have brought him two Pulitzer prizes, and has pushed back the frontiers of the little-explored area of business history. Lest this deviation frighten his legion of followers, it should be said at once that his writing has lost little, if any, of its strength or appeal. The value of such an account is obvious to any student of America's economic history for the period after 1865. Too long has such material been denied researchers because of bitter memories of the "muckraking" days and suspicions that modern writers have the same axe to grind.

Mr. James has made good use of the records of the Metropolitan to mirror the economic forces molding this nation as reflected in the fortunes of the company. After briefly sketching the early story of insurance throughout the world, he introduces the "National Union Life and Limb Insurance Company." Founded in 1863, this firm ambitiously hoped to cover the United States' armed forces against the hazards of war but soon discovered it had outreached itself. However the attempt was indicative of the high aims for service which have characterized the group throughout its long life under successive names. Probably Metropolitan's future was assured by the early (1869) realization of the need for policies within the reach of wage earners able to afford only a few cents a week for them. It excelled not only in the industrial field but also step by step expanded its functions to include other types of insurance and other income groups until by 1945 it had assets of $7,561,997,270.37, the property of 31,500,000 policyholders.

Even more impressive is the continuing evidence of a deep feeling of social responsibility, seen not only in mutualization but also in the active fight to reduce tuberculosis, diphtheria, diabetes, and venereal diseases. This involved the use of company nurses, educational propaganda, and controlled experiments. At Thetford Mines, Canada, Framingham, Massachusetts, and Kingsport, Tennessee, whole communities served as testing areas. Of timely interest is Metropolitan's leadership in producing low-cost housing.

The book is well executed with ample footnotes, bibliography, and index. It is a study which should go far to reassure corporations of the historian's impartiality and to encourage a wider survey of the part business played in forming the America of today.

JOHN S. EZELL

Carnegie Institute of Technology.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Dorsey (Dossey) Family of Calvert County

By Nannie Ball Nimmo

In the year 1660 Richard Preston, of "Preston's Cliffs" in Calvert County, brought into the province, Ralph Dosey and John Smith. To Ralph Dosey, on the 25th of July, 1663, he assigned his rights for the transportation,[1] whereupon Ralph *Dasey* demanded 100 acres of land by right of the said assignment. Ralph Dosse is found in Talbot County in 1669.[2]

In 1668 Captain James Connaway proved his rights for bringing James Dorsey and others into the province,[3] and on the 12th of October 1674 John Dossey of Dorchester County, demanded land for service performed in this province.[4]

The above named Ralph, James, John, were named in the will of Richard Preston of Calvert County, made in 1669. In event of the death of his son James, kinsmen James and John Dorsey to possess a patent of land for 600 acres, kinsman Ralph Dossey, land on Little Choptank River. The name is spelt both Dorsey and Dossey in the will.[5]

Ralph and John Dossey settled on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and left descendants. The late Mrs. Hester Dorsey Richardson, noted genealogist, was descended from John Dossey of Dorchester County.

James Dorsey established himself on a 200 acre tract of land called "Bennett's Desire" on the east side of the Patuxent River, near Hunting Creek, Plum Point being on the other side of the Ridge.[6]

This land adjoined the land of Francis Billingsley, a Quaker, and it is thought that James Dorsey too was a Quaker, as was his son James.[7]

The will of John Gill, witnessed by James Dossey, was probated in 1687. To Elizabeth, daughter of John Johnson, was bequeathed personalty; the residue of the estate was given to Martha Morris, the daughter of Martha Dossey, who was named as executrix.[8]

Nathaniel Cranford and his wife Martha Cranford were administrators of that will in 1687.[9] Martha Cranford must have been at least 18 years

[1] Patent Book, 5, 535. Land Office, Annapolis.
[2] *Archives of Maryland*, 54, 451. Land Office, Annapolis.
[3] Patent Book, 11, 337. Land Office, Annapolis.
[4] Patent Book, 18, 116. Land Office, Annapolis.
[5] Baldwin, *Calendar of Maryland Wills*, I, 50.
[6] Calvert County Rent Rolls, Calvert Paper 882, Maryland Historical Society.
[7] Wills, v. 25, 48. Hall of Records, Annapolis.
[8] Baldwin, *Calendar* I, 50.
[9] Administration Accounts, V. 9, 89, Hall of Records.

of age at this time, probably born about 1669. It is assumed that Martha Dossey was the wife of James Dossey, but there must have been another wife, possibly a Rebecca, mother of some, if not all, of his children.

James Dorsey is named in the list of Inhabitants of Calvert County in 1684,[10] and witnessed the will of Thomas Jessops.[11] In 1711 James Dossey witnessed the will of George Pascall.[12]

James Dorsey and his wife were living in 1723, when on the 22 of May, their son John Dossey made his will, leaving to his mother ¼ of his estate, the remainder was bequeathed to his father, sister Rebecca Talbot and his brothers. His brother James was made executor. Personalty was left to Elizabeth Stallings.[13]

While neither will nor administration account has been found for James Dorsey, the names of his children are known, viz.; James, Timothy, Richard, John, William, Philip and Rebecca Talbot.

James Dorsey, Jr. as eldest son was heir to the homestead on " Bennett's Desire," " where now lives Young Dorsey Hance," not in the original house, that having burned down. The place seems now known as " Bunker Hill."

James, Jr., made his will in 1758, naming his wife Mary, and his eleven children, viz; James, Mary, Rebecca, John, Sarah, Philip, Daniel, Francis, Benjamin, Joseph.[14]

Mary became the wife of John Davis Scarfe, Rebecca the wife of James Crawford, Sarah wife of John Standford.[15]

James, Jr.'s lands, were " Garden," " Robinson's Rest," " Deer Quarter," " Bennett's Desire."

His sons Philip and Daniel were taxed by the vestry of All Saints Parish as bachelors in 1761.[16] In 1770 his son John, gave his age as 40 years, his daughter Rebecca as 34 years, while that same year, his son Philip claims to have been born in 1736.[17]

Timothy Dossey, of James, Sr. died intestate in 1732. His Inventory[18] names (his brothers), James and William, as next of kin (his brothers) Richard and Philip as administrators. The account shows that Richard, Philip and Timothy had been in partnership; their shares of the business were divided.[19]

Philip Dossey of James, Sr. born in 1705,[20] was a member of Christ Church Parish. He married 1st, Ann Allen, named in the will of Charles

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[10] Henry J. Berkley, " First Century of the County of Calvert, " MS, Md. Hist. Soc.
[11] *Baldwin, Calendar*, 1, 134.
[12] *Baldwin*, 3, 195.
[13] *Baldwin*, 5, 153.
[14] Will Book 31, 402, Hall of Records.
[15] Administration Accounts, 49, 340, Hall of Records.
[16] All Saint's Parish, Calvert County, Vestry Proc. Copy, Md. Hist. Soc.
[17] Chancery Record, W. K. no. 1, 251, 292, Hall of Records.
[18] Inventories, 17, 63, Hall of Records.
[19] Accounts, 11, 644, Hall of Records.
[20] Chancery Record, W. K. no. 1, 257.

Allen of Calvert County. In 1733,[21] Philip Dossey and his wife, Ann, sign as next of kin, in the Inventory of Charles Allen in 1734.[22]

The children of Philip and Ann are recorded in the Christ Church Parish Register, namely, James, born 8 Sept. 1735, Elizabeth born 26 of July, 1738, Ann born April, 1741, Rebecca born March 5th 1742.[23]

In his will Philip names them as " my 4 children."

There is no record of the death of Ann, but the parish record shows that Philip, son of Philip and Martha, was born the 11 of August, 1759.[24]

In 1750 Philip Dossey and Joseph Skinner were appointed as inspectors for Plum Point and Shinting Creek.[25] Philip does not seem to have lived on the home place, his lands were a resurvey on several tracts, " Tawney's Addition," " Young's Nest," " Young's Pasture." [26]

He made his will in Calvert County, December 6, 1774, leaving to his wife Martha, a horse and half of his estate during life, at her death to be divided among his children. To son Philip he leaves 2 negroes and a horse, to be divided among his 4 children, should Philip die. His son James is named as executor, son Philip is left in his care.[27]

John Dossey and Francis Dossey, sons of James Dossey, Jr., sign as next of kin in his inventory.[28]

His wife Martha was still living on the 7 of March, 1775, when, with James Dossey, she administered on the estate of her husband, Philip Dossey.[29]

James Dossey, son of Philip, came into possession of " Young's Forrest," and " Tawney's Addition." [30]

Philip Dossey, Jr. was but 14 years of age when his father died, and seems to have inherited no land, being the youngest child and by a 2nd wife. When 19 years of age he signed the oath of Fidelity, and is found on the Returns of William Harris, March 2, 1778, for Calvert County.[31]

In 1782 he is still unmarried,[32] paying taxes on 2 slaves and 2 horses, possibly the 1 horse inherited from his mother, for his father had left to him 1 horse and to his mother 1 horse. This would indicate that his mother was dead. He married before 1784 or about that time, and in 1786 had a wife, one child and 4 slaves.[33] His wife was Barbara Broome, by whom he had William Henry Dossey (Doctor) m. Judith Brasure Skinner in 1811, Ann Dossey m. Henry Carr, Dorcas Dossey m. David Simmons,

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[21] *Baldwin Calendar*, 7, 116.
[22] Inventories, 1734, Hall of Records.
[23] Christ Church Register, Calvert County, Copy, Md. Hist. Soc.
[24] Christ Church Register, p. 57.
[25] Maryland State Papers, No. 1, Black Book, No. 1, 677, Hall of Records.
[26] Debt Books, Calvert County, Land Office.
[27] Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts, II, 21.
[28] Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts, II, 21.
[29] Testamentary Proceedings, 46, 205, Hall of Records.
[30] Debt Book, Calvert County, Land Office.
[31] Margaret R. Hodges, " Unpublished Revolutionary Records of Maryland," vol. 6, 12: also Rev. Records, Hall of Records.
[32] 1782 Tax List, Calvert County, Land Office.
[33] 1786 Tax List, Calvert County, Maryland Historical Society.

Walter P. Dossey, born 1795 d. 1833, m. Dec. 22, 1818, Ann Sedwick Ireland, born 1788, died 1834.

Rebecca Dossey died unmarried in 1810.[84]

Philip Dossey, Jr. died in 1818. He retained the name Dossey.

Walter P. Dorsey, b. 1795, and his wife Ann Sedwick Ireland, had issue:

Dr. Richard Dorsey.

Philip Henry Dorsey, b. Calvert Co., 1827; d. St. Mary's Co. 1899, m. Ann Letitia Bryant in 1865. She was b. 1836, d. 1895.

Susan M. Dorsey.

Alethea Dorsey married Young Parran Dawkins; issue, Judge Walter Parran Dawkins.

Ann Dorsey m. Joseph Griffith.

Walter W. Dorsey m. Julian Marie Sedwick.

Philip Henry Dorsey b. 1827 and his wife Letitia Bryant had issue:

Walter B. Dorsey m. Elizabeth Maddox Turner.

Nannie R. Dorsey m. James J. Stone of St. Mary's County, issue Luke Dorsey Stone.

Philip H. Dorsey.

Ellen Alethea Dorsey m. Frank Tilton Gibson.

Richard Luke Dorsey, deceased.

Amy R. Dorsey unmarried.

The name Dossey is no longer heard, the descendants use the name Dorsey, and so it was spelt in the Parish Registers.

Gen. Jonathan Clark—In compiling a history of the descendants of General Jonathan Clark I wish to obtain complete records. The following is a brief record of General Clark:

Jonathan Clark, son of John and Ann (Rogers) Clark, was born Aug. 12, 1750, in Albemarle Co., Va., and died Nov. 25, 1811, at "Mulberry Hill," Jefferson Co., Ky. On Feb. 13, 1872, he married Sarah, dau. of Col. Isaac and Eleanor (Eltinge) Hite, who was born May 11, 1758, in Frederick Co., Va., and died Oct. 1811, at "Mulberry Hill." During the Revolution he served in the 8th Virginia Regiment and was at Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Paulus Hook. In November, 1779, he was promoted to rank of lieut. col. in the Continental Army. In 1780 he surrendered at Charleston, S. C., and was paroled in the spring of 1781. In 1793 he was commissioned major general of the Virginia forces. His children were:

(1) Eleanor Eltinge, b. Sept. 5, 1783, d. 1867; married Rev. Benjamin Temple.

(2) John Hite, b. Sept. 29, 1785, d. 1820.

(3) Isaac, b. Oct. 6, 1787, d. Jan. 27, 1868.

(4) Mary, b. March 30, 1790, d. July 5, 1791.

[84] Philip Dossey Bible Records in possession of Mrs. Frank Tilton Gibson, Takoma Park, Md.

(5) Ann, b. May 19, 1792, d. July 18, 1833; married James Anderson Pearce.

(6) Dr. William, b. Nov. 13, 1795, d. Feb. 3, 1879; married Frances Ann Tompkins.

(7) George Washington, b. Aug. 24, 1798, d. 1883; married Martha A. Price.

I shall be grateful for any further data that readers may be able to supply.

JOHN FREDERICK DORMAN III,
Filson Club, 118 W. Breckinridge St.
Louisville, Ky.

Edward Davis—My grandfather built and designed the terminal station for the Washington railway which later was changed to Georgetown. Because he was a Confederate he worked for many years in Washington under his mother's maiden name, instead of his own. He was Edward Davis of Odenton, Maryland, and born at Fairfax Courthouse, Virginia. Can anyone give me the name used by the man who built the terminal?

BERTHA DAVIS BABCOCK,
1885 Lemoyne Street, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

Fairbairn—Wanted, information regarding the parentage of the following, all of Baltimore: (1) *Tabitha* (*Fairbairn*) Hayes, b. 1787; m. May 16, 1811, Reverdy Hayes; d. March 13, 1843; 5 children. (2) *Thomas* (*Houston?*) *Fairbairn*, b. 1785-90; m. Nov. 7, 1809, Maria Eliza Henry; in defense of Baltimore a sergeant in Capt. Pike's Balto. Vol. Artillery; owned land in Louisville, Ky.; d. May 7, 1823; 5 children. (3) *James Fairbairn*, b. 1793; in War of 1812-14 Pvt. in Capt. Levering's Co. Independent Blues; d. June 5, 1818, at Havana. (4) Who was *John Fairbairn* who witnessed the Will of Baruch Williams at Baltimore in 1817?

R. G. SMITH,
704 Arlington Mill Dr.,
Arlington, Va.

Nicknames of Maryland Cities and Towns—I am engaged in research to discover the past and present nicknames of American cities and towns. I shall be gratified if readers of the Magazine will send me the nicknames that have been applied to villages, towns and cities of Maryland.

GERARD L. ALEXANDER, F. R. G. S.
Map Division, New York Public Library,
5th Ave. & 42nd St., New York City

Kratz's Burying Ground—Any one knowing the location of this graveyard, supposed to be in Maryland, will confer a favor by notifying

L. H. DIELMAN, New Windsor, Md.

Burrell-Dent; Forrest-DuVall—I will pay $50.00 to the first person sending me the names of the father and mother (the mother's family name) of the following: Alexander Burrell, who married Eleanor Dent in 1756; William Forrest, who married in 1735 Lucy Duvall. In 1738 he sold 200 acres of Beall's Manor to Charles Williams. Did William Forrest inherit or purchase this property?

Mrs. NORVILLE FINLEY YOUNG,
1968 Denune Avenue, Columbus 11, Ohio.

Parker Genealogical Prize—In memory of Mr. Sumner A. Parker, Mrs. Parker has presented to the Society an additional $1000, thereby doubling the endowment previously established by her for the annual award of prizes for the best compilations of genealogical materials given to the Society's Library. The award will hereafter be known as the *Dudrea and Sumner Parker Genealogical Prize*. The competition is open to non-members as well as members of the Society. The sum of $50 will be available each year and will be divided between contestants in accordance with the opinion of three judges selected by the Society. Completeness, authenticity and clarity will be the factors determining the decisions. All material entered in this contest must be received by the Society by December 31, 1948.

Caton Family—I offer $25.00 to first person producing proof of parentage of Theophilus Caton, born by 1750, probably in Maryland; in Washington County, Pa., 1800 Census; died in Muskingum County, Ohio, 1825; wife, Catherine; children: Mary Larison, Rachel Larison, (born 1790 in Maryland), Theophilus Jr. and Greenberry Caton.

GRACE HOBLIT JACOBS, 1151 Willow St., San Diego, Calif.

CONTRIBUTORS

Formerly a research assistant at the Army War College, MISS BOWIE is a student of the Revolutionary War and an occasional contributor to this Magazine. ☆ DR. FORMAN is Head of the Department of Art at Agnes Scott College. His books on Maryland and Virginia architecture and archaeology are well known. ☆ Grandson of Benjamin H. Latrobe, chief engineer of the B. and O. Railroad, and great grandson and namesake of the first professional architect of the United States, MR. WESTON comes honestly by his interest in art, literature and history. His articles in the daily press have long commanded attention. ☆ A member of the Society's library staff, MR. WHITE received his master's degree in history last June from the University of Maryland. During the war he saw combat service with the U. S. Army in Italy.